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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

FOUNDED BY
PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

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LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by
JOHN L. GERIG



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REVUE ANGLO-AMÉRICAINÉ

PARAISANT TOUS LES DEUX MOIS

Directeurs L. CAZAMIAN et C. CESTRE, *Professeurs de Sorbonne*

La Revue Anglo-Américaine est entrée en Octobre 1930 dans sa huitième année.

Seule revue française consacrée uniquement aux questions de littérature et de civilisation anglaises et américaines, elle paraît en 6 numéros d'au moins 96 pages, dont chacun contient des articles de fond, des notes et documents, des comptes-rendus, faits par des spécialistes, des livres importants publiés en Angleterre, en Amérique et en France, une revue des revues anglaises, américaines et françaises, et un bulletin signalant les faits principaux qui peuvent intéresser les français qui s'occupent des questions anglaises et américaines.

La Revue Anglo-Américaine a été conçue pour permettre de se tenir au courant du mouvement littéraire et du mouvement des idées en Angleterre et en Amérique. Elle s'occupe des grands auteurs classiques, discute les travaux d'histoire littéraire et linguistique, mais en même temps elle est très ouverte aux tentatives les plus récentes des auteurs contemporains et des jeunes, avec lesquels bon nombre de ses collaborateurs sont en relations personnelles.

Un des plus éminents historiens anglais de la littérature, écrivait dernièrement: «The articles seem to me of a surprisingly high standard». Les revues américaines citent ses articles et ses comptes-rendus, et la considèrent comme une des plus importantes revues littéraires d'Europe. La Quinzaine critique et littéraire (25 Mars) constate que la Revue Anglo-Américaine contient «une masse de compte-rendus très bien faits et indispensables à classer dans les archives d'histoire littéraire». D'Angleterre, d'Amérique, d'Allemagne, de Pologne viennent les appréciations les plus flatteuses, et certains romanciers anglais, certains poètes américains ont bien voulu écrire à la Revue Anglo-Américaine qu'en aucune revue de leur pays ils n'avaient trouvé une compréhension plus éclairée de leur œuvre.

En 1929-1930 (l'année commence avec le n° d'Octobre) la Revue Anglo-Américaine a publié 19 articles de fond; 9 notes et documents (dont plusieurs inédits importants d'auteurs anglais); 190 comptes-rendus de livres, plus 42 notices plus brèves; 191 analyses de revues ou de journaux; 37 articles dans le bulletin.

La Revue Anglo-Américaine ne publie que de l'inédit.

L'abonnement, qui part d'Octobre, est de 33 francs pour la France et 90 francs pour l'étranger.

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VOL. XXIV—OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1933—No. 4

ESSAIS DE SOCIOLOGIE LINGUISTIQUE¹

VII. LE FUTURISME

1. *Les Mots en Liberté*

QU'EST-CE que le *Futurisme*? C'est le "Nouveau Jeu du style poétique": C'est la destruction complète d'une syntaxe régulière, la révolution contre toute règle de la grammaire, bref contre les conventions sociales de la langue. C'est l'individu qui se révolte contre la société.—Du moins, c'est ce que les Futuristes voudraient.

Le Futurisme est né à Milan en 1908. Son père est un Italien écrivant le français, M. Marinetti. *Le Figaro* a lancé cette même année le célèbre *Manifeste du Futurisme* et, aujourd'hui, Marinetti est membre de l'Académie d'Italie. Je choisis parmi les ouvrages de Marinetti, celui qui me paraît le plus significatif: *Les Mots en Liberté futuriste* (Milan, 1919). Sur le titre, on lit le poème lyrique suivant:

GH "EEEEEEEEEEEEEEEE,eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee
+ Je t'aime + — × 29 caresses + la lune et les ruisseaux
chantent sous les arbres.....paradis de mes bras. Viens
chance + — × + — 3000 par mois +
vanitéeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee R bague, rubis 8000, etc.
Alrrrrrrrrrrr" **R**

J'abrège.—A la page 75, je trouve des "Exemples de mots en liberté."
Et je cite:

"BATAILLE

"POIDS ODEUR

"Midi 3/4 flûtes, glapisement, embrasement, toumtoumb, alarme, Gar-

¹ Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XX, 1929, pp. 305-325; XXI, 1930, pp. 99-115; XXII, 1931, pp. 1-15; XXIII, 1932, pp. 97-110.

garesch, craquement, crépitation, marche, cliquetis . . ."

Je crois que cela suffit. Autre exemple:

"DUNES "Karazouc-zouc-zouc
karazouc-zouc-zouc
nadi-nadi AAA Aaaaaa (bis) dunes
duuuuuuuunes soleil dunes dunes dunes", etc.

Je crois que cela suffit définitivement. M. Marinetti, s'il est quelque chose, est un jongleur de mots, ne se rendant même pas compte des différences qui existent entre le "son" et les "lettres." Il traduit des sentiments, en général assez banaux, en son et en lettres au hasard des rencontres. Il n'est ni littéraire, ni populaire. Parfois c'est écrit pour la récitation, parfois pour être lu. Laissons le problème de psychologie à nos chers contemporains esthéticiens, et occupons-nous de ce qui intéresse la science proprement dite dans ce Futurisme.

Au fond, ce sont deux questions qui intéressent le savant:

- 1) Quelles sont les sources du Futurisme?
- 2) Si on fait abstraction du mot *Futurisme*, à quel groupe d'idées les aspirations de M. Marinetti appartiennent-elles?

2. Les Sources du Futurisme

M. Marinetti a indiqué lui-même où il a puisé son inspiration, du moins où il croit avoir trouvé ses idées-mères, à la page 27.

"Réponse aux objections de la presse européenne

"Ceux qui ont compris ce que je voulais dire par haine de l'intelligence ont voulu y découvrir la philosophie de Bergson. Ils ignorent sans doute que mon premier poème épique, *La Conquête des Étoiles*, paru en 1902, portait à la première page, en guise d'épigraphe, ces trois vers de Dante:

"O insensata cura de'mortali,
Quanto son difettivi sillogismi
Quei che ti fanno in basso batter l'ali!" (*Paradiso*, Canto 11)"

Bien. Dante a chanté les défauts du syllogisme. Il a eu raison, et il y a longtemps qu'on a commencé à comprendre que le syllogisme, avec ses trois dimensions, est incapable de saisir ce qui va au delà des trois dimensions toutes superficielles de l'espace, que même on peut dire que le syllogisme est une méthode excellente pour rendre le jugement impuissant, si l'on s'en sert là où il y a plus de trois dimensions. Voir, par exemple, *Les Idées, leurs Rapports, et le Jugement de l'Homme* (p. 219 sv.): "Les torts du syllogisme." Il y a sept siècles, l'indentification du syllogisme et de l'intelligence n'était déjà plus de saison.

Mais M. Marinetti cite une seconde source de sa haine de l'intelligence, cette fois une source plus moderne: "L'esprit poétique—cette faculté la plus sublime de toutes, nous savons cela maintenant,—puisque des vérités de la plus haute importance ne pouvaient nous être révélées que par cette

Analogie," etc. (Edgar Allan Poe). Et M. Marinetti de dire: "Bien avant Bergson, ces deux génies créateurs (Dante et Poe) coïncidaient avec mon génie (*sic*) en affirmant leur mépris et leur haine pour l'intelligence . . ."

M. Marinetti a raison. La critique de l'intelligence de Bergson ainsi que le nom de sa remplaçante, l'*intuition*, ne lui appartiennent pas. L'intuition, dans la philosophie européenne, n'était jadis que l'état de grâce exceptionnel d'un individu,—mais n'était pas une faculté toujours prête de tout individu. En anglais, dans la langue parlée, on a identifié instinct et intuition, et c'est en anglais que nous lisons que *les animaux ont les mêmes intuitions que l'homme*. De là, la façon de parler de Poe, pour qui l'intuition est un instinct humain, donc une qualité immuable de l'homme et toujours prête. C'est surtout dans son essai philosophique, *Eureka*, que Poe a analysé cette nouvelle qualité de l'homme. Baudelaire a traduit les œuvres de E. A. Poe en français. Lui-même, dans ses œuvres, ne s'est pas encore servi du nouveau terme *intuition*. Ce sont les poètes lyriques et les romanciers de l'époque qui ont introduit cette *intuition* en France, surtout Mallarmé et son groupe, Th. de Banville, Th. Gautier, Jean Lombard, les frères Marguerite, et d'autres. C'est de ces sources romantiques et lyriques que Bergson a tiré le nom et la chose qui ont fait sa fortune et la fortune de beaucoup d'autres. Cette intuition "qualité" a été introduite en Italie par M. Croce, en 1902, et par M. Vossler en Allemagne, en 1904. J'ai tracé l'histoire du mot dans *Les Idées, leurs Rapports et le Jugement de l'Homme*, ouvrage cité, à la page 22 sv. Et j'ai essayé une critique logique de tout le groupe et de ses idées dans *Kunst des begrifflichen Denkens* (Munich, 1926, Bruckmann éd.).

Donc, M. Marinetti a raison de dire: "Bergson? pas du tout! E. A. Poe!" Mais il a tort de le souligner trop fort, car qui dit *Bergson* dit *Poe*, qui dit *Poe* dit *Bergson* et, en Italie, forcément *Croce*. Curieuse ironie de l'histoire de la philosophie au XIXe siècle: l'inspiration bouddhiste du commencement de ce siècle, subie par Hegel et par Schopenhauer, se mêle vers 1850 à l'influence américaine. L'*intuition* "instinct" anglaise se double, dans ce parfait charlatan qu'était Poe ["His pretentiousness was enough. . . to suggest the perfect charlatan" (Joseph Wood Krutch, *E. A. Poe*, p. 95)], de l'instinct que ses contemporains et compatriotes constataient et généralisaient dans les Indiens. C'est l'Indien qui sait tout sans l'avoir appris. Voyez Cooper. On oublie que l'objet de l'instinct des animaux et des primitifs est très restreint et qu'il ne saurait dépasser la somme et la limite étroite de leurs expériences quotidiennes. Autre ironie de l'évolution de la pensée du XIXe siècle: les histoires de la philosophie du XIXe siècle sont pleines de données sur Comte, Bergson, Nietzsche. Sur Edgar Allan Poe, pas un mot.

M. Marinetti est l'enfant terrible du groupe. Et sa définition trahit pourquoi: "Par intuition, j'entends un état de la pensée presque entièrement intuitif et inconscient; par intelligence, j'entends un état de la pensée presque entièrement intellectif et volontaire". L'intuition étant un "état intuitif", l'intelligence, un "état intellectif," nous sommes, je pense, définitivement fixés sur M. Marinetti. C'est, en effet, un jongleur de mots.

* * *

Voici pour les sources de l'idéologie du Futurisme. Passons aux sources de la révolution stylistique: M. Marinetti n'a pas été le seul, dans le groupe des publicistes français qui suivirent l'idéologie de Poe, à vouloir détruire la syntaxe. Détruire la syntaxe, cela s'appelle élargir la liberté du style au détriment des règles de la syntaxe. Les règles de la syntaxe ne sont pas faites pour tyranniser les gens. Elles se forment principalement pour faciliter le commerce des hommes, ou plutôt elles sont le résultat du commerce des hommes. C'est ce commerce qui rend la langue polie, ce qui veut dire expressive, sachant formuler aussi clairement que possible les idées courantes d'une période et d'un groupe linguistique. Il est certain que des soucis esthétiques se mêlent aux soucis de clarté. Mais les soucis de clarté sont toujours les plus forts, les plus faciles à constater, et la méthode linguistique ne saurait être correcte qu'en partant de l'intelligibilité d'un mot ou d'une phrase, pour s'occuper de sa beauté au second plan. Donc, qui quitte la syntaxe régulière risque, s'il n'y a pas équivoque ou manque de clarté, à rendre inintelligible ce qui était clair.

Mallarmé a été le membre du groupe qui rêvait d'élargir la liberté du style dans la poésie et aussi dans la prose, sans s'occuper grandement de l'amoindrissement de clarté, accompagnant naturellement l'accroissement d'irrégularité du style. Son idéal étant la musicalité de la langue et non la clarté, l'action mystique de la parole et non l'action logique, il disloquait les phrases, comme V. Hugo, "dans sa tâche mystérieuse", avait disloqué le vers. Et Mallarmé de dire dans *Divagations* (p. 236): "Hugo, dans sa tâche mystérieuse, rabattit toute la prose au vers, . . . et comme il était le vers personnellement, il confisqua chez qui pense, discours ou narre, presque le droit à s'énoncer."

Donc, ne pas penser, ne pas discourir, ne pas énoncer, mais chanter, même en prose. Et je cite un exemple de la prose de Mallarmé, tiré de ses *Divagations* (1897, articles parus séparés à partir de 1886):

(p. 250) "Narrer, enseigner, même décrire, cela va, et encore qu'à chacun suffirait peut-être pour échanger la pensée humaine, de prendre ou de mettre dans la main d'autrui en silence une pièce de monnaie, l'emploi élémentaire du discours dessert l'universel *reportage* dont, la littérature exceptée, participe tout entre les genres d'écrits contemporains. A quoi

bon la merveille de transposer un fait de nature en sa presque disparition vibratoire selon le jeu de la parole, cependant; si ce n'est pour qu'en émane, sans la gêne d'un proche ou concret rappel, la notion pure? Je dis: une fleur! et, hors de l'oubli où ma voix relègue aucun contour, en tant que quelque chose d'autre que les calices sus, musicalement se lève, idée même et suave, l'absente de tout bouquet."

Si le lecteur a compris immédiatement, tant mieux. Pour ma part, je donnerais à ces trois alinéas le sens suivant: Narrer, enseigner, même décrire n'a pas de valeur: autant échanger de l'argent sans parler. Mais la parole servant à la narration, à l'enseignement ou à la description n'est que le vil véhicule de reportage. Dans les vers, le fait concret, palpable, donc vulgaire, disparaît dans le son et le rythme (*disparition vibratoire*) pour aller vers l'absolu, vers l'immatériel, l'idéal, la notion pure. Je dis: une fleur! ce n'est ni cette fleur concret, ni bouquet (abstraction primaire), c'est la fleur, l'idée même de toute fleur...

Est-ce bien cela ou du moins à peu près? Maintenant, relisez et tâchez de comprendre et relisez surtout ce qui précède sur la raison inverse de style irrégulier et de clarté. Je m'abstiens de suivre l'évolution de la pensée mallarméenne dans les vers de son ami Verlaine, puisque nous parlons prose et non pas vers. Les théories de Mallarmé, prêchées dans les salons parisiens de façon sacerdotale, ont même inspiré un romancier, Jean Lombard, qui, dans ses romans sur le déclin de l'Empire romain, travaille son style à la Mallarmé, mais en prenant garde de ne pas devenir trop obscur.

Un exemple tiré de *Byzance*: (3) "Du peuple courait dans le rosis du soir, dont l'insondable ciel absorbait des érections de palais... des boutiques offraient des indécisions de marchandises... quelque chose d'abrupt se levait emmi de nouvelles rues", le tout ayant pour sujet le débat entre les iconoclastes ("réalistes") et les iconolâtres ("symbolistes") de Byzance.

On voit que M. Marinetti a mis en pratique exagérée la recette de Mallarmé. Mais il y a un 'mais': Mallarmé est difficile à comprendre. Et M. Marinetti est intelligible, voire trop intelligible. On comprend parfaitement la lettre d'une jolie femme qui offre *baiser, caresses, fraîcheur, beauté, élégance pour 3000 frs. par mois, bague, rubis et le reste*; on comprend sans effort intellectuel le roulis de la DdDduuuuuuune. A quoi cela tient-il? A ce que M. Marinetti n'aspire pas du tout à l'idéal de Mallarmé qui dit des choses assez élevées, en général trop élevées pour son entendement, dans son jargon. Tandis que ce que M. Marinetti dit, c'est, selon l'expression de Mallarmé, du *reportage*. Ce sont des sentiments tellement simples qu'ils se traduisent immédiatement en sensations. Seulement ils sont, en outre, tellement ordinaires qu'on ne saurait en tirer d'impressions poétiques, si ce n'est celles d'un poète qui se moque de ses lecteurs.

3. Ordre général socio-psychologique des Idées du Futurisme

Le Futurisme est aussi ancien que le monde. Quand le talent de l'homme ne suffit pas à le faire remarquer, quand des talents incontestables lui barrent la route, il ne lui reste qu'un seul moyen pour attirer l'attention de la foule, c'est de faire justement le contraire de ce que font ceux qu'on a admirés jusqu'alors. La jeunesse sera toujours assez facile à gagner par le Nouveau Jeu, d'abord parce qu'elle manque de critique, la critique étant le résidu d'expériences faites, et ensuite parce qu'elle est, de nature, hostile à ce que la génération précédente a admiré, à ce que propage l'école.

Cet enchaînement social, qui est d'une importance de premier ordre pour l'évolution de la langue, et que personne ne connaît intimement s'il a négligé les études linguistiques, surtout celle des patois, mérite dans toute étude sociologique une attention spéciale.

Le futurisme, c'est l'opposition contre la règle d'hier. C'est l'opposition qui crée la nouvelle règle. Mais il est inadmissible de supposer que toute opposition soit la règle de demain. Autrement dit: *l'observation que la règle d'aujourd'hui a été l'opposition d'hier ne peut pas être retournée. On ne peut pas dire: donc, c'est l'opposition d'aujourd'hui qui sera la règle de demain.* On ne peut dire qu'une chose: si une école classique a plu par son intelligence, par sa clarté, par sa beauté,—la génération nouvelle, incapable de surpasser ses pères en intelligence, en clarté, en beauté, essaiera peut-être de faire le contraire. Le laid est introduisible dans les beaux-arts, ainsi que l'art moderne l'a prouvé.

L'incompréhensible l'est aussi, au moins pour quelque temps. Mais on s'en lasse assez vite: un de mes éditeurs m'a montré, à l'occasion d'une visite, le cliché d'une reproduction de peinture. L'imprimeur l'avait mis à l'envers. Et l'éditeur de remarquer: "On en aura bientôt assez de ces machines incompréhensibles." En littérature, l'incompréhensible a toujours une certaine vogue dans la poésie lyrique. Quand on ne comprend pas, on interprète et (c'est le poète japonais, Natsumé, qui le dit dans son roman *Neko*) "il est aisé de trouver un sens, même dans le non-sens."

Mallarmé rencontre un jour un ami, qui lui demande si c'est bien tel et tel sens qu'il a voulu donner à un de ses poèmes. Mallarmé répond: "Ce n'est pas comme cela que je l'avais compris, mais votre interprétation est bonne, je l'adopte." C'est ainsi que le *Trobar clus* des troubadours, *l'imprécis* et la *chanson grise*, de Verlaine, ont eu, et ont encore, leur vogue. Mais en prose c'est différent!

Les poèmes futuristes de M. Marinetti n'ont pas fait école. Le premier souci de toute prose étant l'intelligibilité, la prose qui ne sait pas les règles que le groupe social se donne afin de se comprendre les uns les autres.

cette prose libre est vite délaissée. Les vers, évidemment, sont plus libres : qui dit vers, dit : "Faites-moi rêver !" Parfois le non-sens fait plutôt rêver que la clarté.

4. *Le Monisme dans la Conception de la Grammaire :
L'Individualisme grammatical*

On se rappelle Julie, que j'ai citée dans mon cinquième article : "C'est énervant, cette pose pour la grammaire !" dit-elle à une amie. Celle-ci insiste : "Mais tu ne peux pourtant pas laisser des fautes !" "Des fautes ? !" C'est Julie qui répond : "Ce n'est pas des fautes, ça, d'abord !"

Julie, Mallarmé, Marinetti sont tous trois des futuristes. Leur point de départ, c'est qu'ils ne savent ni ce que c'est que la grammaire, ni ce que c'est que la langue. Leur excuse, c'est que de grands philosophes n'en savent pas plus long sur cette matière.

Dans *Il Concetto della Grammatica* (Città di Castello, 1912), M. Croce demande : "Che cosa c'è in una grammatica ?" Et il répond : il y a une grammaire de l'école de Manzoni : "quel moto si riflette tutto in ciascuna delle singole regolette, di non porre, p. es., il verbo in fine del periodo, di evitare i 'conciossiachè', o di chiamar barba la 'barba' e non 'onor del mento'".

Pour nous servir de la diction de Julie : "Ce n'est pas de la grammaire, ça, d'abord, c'est du style !" La façon de parler ou d'écrire individuelle, c'est ce que nous appelons *style*. Les règles de la grammaire, c'est ce qu'un groupe social a l'habitude de suivre, en prononçant, en parlant, et, en tout dernier lieu, en écrivant. Toute liberté de style est, à l'origine, une contravention à la règle, contravention qui, bien entendu, peut se transformer elle-même en règle, si la société l'adopte. Mais que dirait-on d'un juriste, qui confondrait "loi" et "contravention", en les appelant *code* toutes les deux ? De même, il est illogique d'appeler *règle* ou *grammaire* les individualités de style de poètes qui, par nature, tendent à l'original. Autrement dit : il y a ou bien règle, donc fait social,—ou bien liberté, donc fait individuel. Les confondre c'est confondre ce qui est commun et ce qui est original. Voilà ce que M. Croce ne savait pas, ses exemples n'étant pas les parlars d'un patois ou d'une commune ou d'un métier ou de l'école, mais la façon d'écrire d'un groupe littéraire.

Une école littéraire est-ce un groupe social ? Je ne sais. Mais ce que je sais, c'est qu'il est malaisé de s'en servir quand on veut saisir le phénomène "langue." Et que M. Gentile a bien fait d'opposer les lignes suivantes à ses collaborateurs qui cherchent le phénomène dans les poètes seuls, voire dans leur for intérieur : "Che cosa dunque fa contraporre la grammatica all'estetica ? Non l'empirismo dell' una opposto alla filosofia

dell' altra: perchè la filosofia non diventa sè stessa, se non attraverso dell' empirismo."

L'*empirismo*, c'était, en Italie, les travaux de M. Bartoli, de M. Bertoni, qui ne se restreignaient pas à étudier le style de Manzoni en le confondant avec quelque grammaire scolaire. L'empirisme, c'était l'*Atlas linguistique* qui paraissait alors en France. L'empirisme, c'était les premières études linguistiques qui combinaient l'histoire et la géographie et se rattachaient aussi bien à la méthode sociologique qu'à celle de la physique. L'empirisme, c'était l'étude des règles sociales qui entravaient la liberté individuelle de prononciation, de formation et de style.

Mais les idéalistes continuent à enseigner que la grammaire est libre, que l'histoire d'une langue est l'histoire de sa liberté et que la langue est, somme toute, de la poésie. Leurs pères en romantisme l'avaient déjà dit: "La poésie et la vérité ne font qu'un," proclame E. A. Poe. "Il faut peu savoir pour beaucoup juger," a dit Manzoni. Ces maîtres ont été tellement suggestifs pour nos contemporains que même un philosophe comme Gentile croit devoir dire: "Ogni parola ha la sua grammatica."

Nous avons, en Allemagne, un merveilleux proverbe qui caractérise cet état d'âme anarchiste: "A force de voir les arbres, on ne voit pas la forêt."

MUNICH

LEO JORDAN

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF PIERRE BAYLE

(Continued)

XI. ON THE DEATH OF GILLES MÉNAGE: BAYLE'S EULOGY

IN a hitherto unpublished letter of February 12, 1693, to Pinsson de Riolles, Bayle paid homage to the memory of the deceased Gilles Ménage¹. It is known that both *savants* admired each other's achievements, and,—rare phenomenon!—took occasion to praise each other during their lifetime. Ménage died on July 23, 1692; and the tardiness of Bayle's eulogy can be explained by the fact that Pinsson's letter, sent to him on September 17, 1692, reached him almost five months later, as the first paragraph proves:

"A Rotterdam, le 12 février, 1693².

"Je n'ai reçu que depuis très peu de jours la lettre que vous me fîtes l'honneur de m'écrire le 17 de septembre dernier. Ce grand retardement est venu de ce que notre commun ami, Mr. de Larroque³, ayant une occasion prochaine d'envoyer votre lettre et autres choses, s'en voulut servir et non de la poste. Or cette occasion qu'il croyait prochaine, a été fort reculée, car ce n'est que depuis quelques semaines que le gros paquet est arrivé à l'Isle,⁴ et il y est encore. On en a tiré seulement les lettres et les feuilles volantes imprimées, pour nous les envoyer par la poste. J'ai reçu donc en même temps, Monsieur, les trois fables *In culicem*,⁵ et les vers grecs sur la mort de l'illustre Mr. Ménage;⁶ et je vous rends un million d'actions de grâce de la bonté que vous avez eue de m'en faire part. J'honorerai toute ma vie le nom et la mémoire de ce grand homme, et si j'étais poète, j'aurais fait entendre ma voix sur le Parnasse parmi les chants lugubres que tant d'excellentes veines ont fait retentir aux funérailles de cet illustre défunt. Si

¹ On the relations of Bayle with Gilles Ménage, see the two letters published by R. L. Hawkins in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, No. 1, 1932, pp. 14-19.

² Published from the Columbia University Manuscript of Letters by Bayle.

³ On Daniel de Larroque, see "IV. On the Imprisonment of Bayle's Collaborator, Daniel de Larroque (1694)", in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, No. 2, 1932, pp. 121-124.

⁴ That is, in the possession of Mr. Fiévet, on the "île de Ré". Cf. Bayle's letter to Pinsson de Riolles of Oct. 1, 1693, in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, No. 4, 1932, p. 314.

⁵ Probably a reference to the fables *Culex et Taurus*, *Culex et Camelus*, in *Fabula Antiqua*, ex *Pbædro fere servatis ejus verbis desumpta et soluta oratione exposita ab Ademaro Cabannensi* . . . and *De Culice et Tauro* in *Alexandri Nequam, Novus Æsopus*. See L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, 1894, II, pp. 144, 153, 393. The British Museum Catalogue lists a *Culex apum imitator, fabula ad auctorem Diarii ut vocant Eruditorum*. (Paris ? 1715 ?), which may be of earlier date than the one tentatively suggested. Cf. also the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex*, which had given rise to many imitations and commentaries. See C. Plésent, *Le Culex. Poème Pseudo-Virgilien*. Edition critique et explicative, Paris, 1910.

⁶ Ménage died on July 23, 1692. These Greek verses were circulated in manuscript.

nos poètes avaient fait quelque chose sur ce sujet, je vous l'aurais communiqué, mais je n'apprends point qu'ils aient composé quelque *Epicidium* grec ou latin. Peut-être ont-ils craint que la guerre ne laissât point de sûreté ou de liberté à leurs muses à l'égard d'un savant décédé dans le pays ennemi, et de nation ennemie. J'ai appris avec bien de la joie qu'on imprimait les *Ménagiana*.⁷

"J'en aurai aussi extrêmement lorsque j'apprendrai que votre ouvrage sur les profess[eurs] de Bourges⁸ sera sous la presse; il m'apprendra une infinité de particularités qui me serviront, et que je n'emploierai qu'en indiquant celui à qui le public en sera redevable, plutôt qu'à moi. Je vous supplie, Monsieur, de faire tenir l'incluse au père de la Mainferme,⁹ et je vous remercie très humblement de ce que vous m'offrez de me fournir les éclaircissements que je vous demanderai. Je ne refuse pas des offres d'une utilité aussi considérable, mais je tâcherai de n'abuser pas de votre loisir. Je ne doute pas que Mr. Graverol¹⁰ ou quelque autre savant du Languedoc n'ait fait quelque éloge de feu Mr. de Ranchin, conseiller au parlement de Toulouse.¹¹ Il était illustre, bel esprit, poète, et avait d'excellents livres; je pense, sans pourtant en avoir de preuve, qu'il était de la même famille que Guillaume Ranchin, chancelier de l'université de Montpellier et auteur de plusieurs livres de médecine.¹² Un savant allemand nommé Marquardus Gudius,¹³ qui avait fait un grand recueil d'inscriptions, étant mort sans les avoir publiées, on craignait que jamais la république des lettres ne jouît des recherches de ce curieux, mais on sait que son fils a remis plusieurs manu-

⁷ The *Ménagiana* first appeared in one volume in 1693, and went through several enlarged editions. Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIII, No. 3, 1932, p. 206, note 2.

⁸ Nicolas Catherinot had published, in 1672, a twelve-page pamphlet, in-4, *Scholarum Bituricorum inscriptio*. Beginning with André Alciat, who taught in Bourges from 1527 to 1532, he gives a list of professors, among them Jacobus Cujacius (Jacques Cujas, who taught 1556-66 and 1577-90), Franciscus Hottomannus (François Hotman, 1567-72), Franciscus Pinsonius (1611-43), etc. Cf. David Clément, *Bibliothèque curieuse*, 1756, VI, pp. 448-449.

⁹ On this Benedictine, Jean de la Mainferme, see ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIII, No. 3, 1932, p. 209, note 13.

¹⁰ On François Graverol, see ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIII, No. 3, 1932, p. 207, note 7.

¹¹ Jacques Ranchin, grandson of the Guillaume Ranchin mentioned below, born circa 1620 and died that year, 1693, as proved by this letter. He was the *Conseiller* of the Parlement of Toulouse, and became converted to Catholicism. The *Ménagiana* of 1729, II, p. 350, prints a *triolet* by him.

¹² Guillaume Ranchin, son of Étienne. Bayle makes a mistake, for it was François Ranchin who became *Chancelier de l'Université de Montpellier*. See Haag, *La France Protestante*.

¹³ The German archaeologist and philologist, Marquardus Gudius [or Cudius] (1635-1685), son of Peter Gude, burgo-master of Rensburg. He was the friend of Grævius, Gronovius, met Ménage in Paris, and was acquainted with other savants. He was known as a great collector of old inscriptions, as well as of old manuscripts, which he copied in several countries. Though he was appointed professor at Duisburg in 1663, he refused this position in order to continue his travels all over Europe, accompanied by his student, Samuel Schas. He spent the years 1664 to 1671 in Holland; in 1671 he was appointed librarian to the Duke of Holstein; and in 1674 ambassador to the Court of Denmark. In 1675 he inherited the possessions of his student, Schas. He lost the favor of the Duke of Holstein in 1678, but soon after became Counsellor to the King of Denmark. His principal works appeared in print only after his death. The greater part of his collection of manuscripts, coins, etc., was placed in the library of Wolfenbüttel in 1710, at the demand of Leibnitz. The collection of inscriptions to which Bayle refers did not appear until in 1731: *Antiquæ Inscriptiones, quæ græcæ tum latinæ, olim a M. Gudio collectæ*, Leeuwaerde, 1731, in-folio, with notes of Kool and Fr. Hessel. See Nicéron, *Mémoires*, vol. XXVI; etc.

scrits, et les inscriptions principalement, à Mr. Grævius¹⁴ qui leur cherche un imprimeur.

"Je suis, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,
Bayle.

Pour Monsieur Pinsson.

XII. LETTERS OF ERUDITION TO PINSSON DE RIOLLES (1695-1696)

"18 Août, 1695, à Rotterdam.¹

"J'aurais répondu plutôt, Monsieur, à votre dernière lettre, si je n'avais cru devoir attendre que les livres dont vous me parliez fussent arrivés. Je les ai reçus enfin depuis quelques jours, savoir deux volumes d'Hilarion de Coste,² le projet de l'histoire de l'Anjou,³ et je me hâte de vous en remercier très humblement. Le projet de cette histoire est très beau, et comprend tout ce qu'on peut souhaiter. J'ai prié Mr. de Beauval⁴ d'en faire mention comme il faut. Je fais mille remerciements très humbles à l'illustre auteur qui m'en a envoyé un exemplaire. Je reçus lundi dernier une lettre de Mr. de Larroque,⁵ en attendant que je lui réponde, je vous supplie d'avoir la bonté de lui apprendre que je me suis acquitté très promptement de sa commission, et que je ne doute point qu'il n'en voie les effets. Je ne pourrai savoir que demain si la chose a été exécutée dans la gazette d'aujourd'hui. J'ai une confusion extrême de devoir tant de réponses à notre excellent ami, Mr. l'Abbé Nicaise;⁶ ayez la bonté de lui faire savoir que Mr. Grævius⁷

¹⁴ The German philologist, John-George Greffe, Latinized name Grævius (1622-1703), professor at Duisburg, Deventer and the Academy of Utrecht. He became historiographer of the House of Nassau, and tutor to the crown prince. Louis XIV awarded him a pension. Cf. on him note 7 of Bayle's letter of August 18, 1695 ["XII. Letters of Erudition to Pinsson de Riolles (1695-1696)"].

¹ Published from the Columbia University Manuscript of Letters by Bayle.

² Olivier de Coste, called Frère Hilarion (1595-1661), who belonged to the family of St. François de Paul. In 1614 he entered the Order of the Minims. He wrote many works both scholarly and devotional, such as: *Les Eloges et les Vies des Reines, des Princesses, et des Dames illustres en Piété, en Courage et en Doctrine, qui ont fleuri de notre Temps et du Temps de nos Pères, avec l'Explication de leurs Devises, Emblèmes, Hiéroglyphes et Symboles*, 1630, 1647, 2 vols.; *Les vrais Portraits des Rois de France, tirés de ce qui nous reste de leurs Monuments, Sceaux et Médailles, et autres Effigies, conservés dans les rares et curieux Cabinets*, 1636; *La Vie du R. P. Marin Merenne, Théologien, Philosophe et Mathématicien de l'Ordre des Pères Minimes*, 1649; etc. Cf. Nicéron, *Mémoires*, XVII, p. 321.

³ Henri Basnage de Beauval, in his *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savants* of November, 1695, elucidates this projected *Histoire d'Anjou* as follows: "Un Gentilhomme d'Anjou a distribué un *Projet de l'Histoire d'Anjou*. C'est pour avoir l'avis des habiles, et pour se faire envoyer les pièces qui pourroient servir à son dessein" (p. 139). This proves that this *Projet* must have been in manuscript. It probably was never executed, and seems to bear no relation to the *Histoire d'Anjou* which appeared in 1750 in *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, and is due to the Benedictines Dantine, Durand and Clémencet.

⁴ The above-mentioned Henri Basnage de Beauval (1656-1710), editor of the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savants*, 1687-1709.

⁵ On Larroque see the article: "On the Imprisonment of Bayle's Collaborator, Daniel de Larroque (1694)", *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, No. 2, 1932, p. 121 ff.

⁶ The Abbé Nicaise was a correspondent of Bayle. On him see "Bayle and the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns", *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIV, No. 3, 1933.

⁷ The German philologist, Jean-Georges Grævius (born 1622 in Naumburg, Saxony, died 1703 in Utrecht), whose real name was Greffe. He received the degree of doctor at the age of 18 with a thesis on Tacitus. In 1656 he became professor of *belles-lettres* in Duisburg; in 1658, on the demand of Gronovius, he was called to replace him at the school of Deventer; in 1661 he accepted the chair of eloquence at the Academy of Utrecht. His method of teaching

me donna l'autre jour sa dernière lettre, et que je le supplie très humblement d'agréer que ce que je vous écris aujourd'hui soit autant pour lui que pour vous par la communication que vous aurez la bonté de lui faire de nos nouveautés littéraires, qui sont toujours bien stériles. On a imprimé à Amsterdam les *Œuvres* d'Aonius Palearius,⁸ et on a mis à la tête la vie de l'auteur. Vous savez que c'est un des martyrs protestants qui furent brûlés en Italie au siècle dernier, et que c'était une assez bonne plume. Mr. Matthæus,⁹ professeur en droit à Leyde, vient de publier quelques lettres qui n'avaient jamais paru. La plus considérable est à la tête du recueil. Elle est du fameux jurisconsulte Alciat,¹⁰ et contient plusieurs raisons pour dissuader de se faire moine. La pièce est bonne et curieuse. Mr. Matthæus y joint quelques notes. Les autres lettres sont la plupart de Boxhornius¹¹ et de Pontanus, professeur en Gueldre et bon antiquaire.¹²

drew many students: he insisted little on philological minutiae, but approached Latin authors from the point of view of taste, history, and morals. In 1667 he was also put in charge of the chairs of politics and history. King William made him historiographer of the House of Nassau and tutor to the Prince of Friesland, the crown prince, and he received a pension from Louis XIV. His library was incorporated into that of the University of Heidelberg. On his numerous works, see Nicéron, *Mémoires*, vol. II; the *Nouvelle Biographie générale*; Gigas, *op. cit.*; etc. Cf. note 14 above.

⁸ Aonius Palearius, the Latinized name of Antonio della Paglia, the Italian scholar, born at Veroli about 1500, and hanged at Rome on July 3, 1570. In his youth he acquired the reputation of being one of the best Latin poets of his time, but he was persecuted for favoring Luther's doctrines. When he was professor at Milan, the Papal Court had him arrested for having defied it with the volume, circulated in manuscript and not appearing in print until about 1600, *Actio in pontifices romanos et eorum asseclas*. Palearius was found guilty of having said that the Lutherans were to be praised for certain of their doctrines, of having opposed the custom of burying the dead under the church-slabs, and of having called the Inquisition a sword always hanging over the authors. He was hanged for these crimes, and his body was afterwards burned. His works were published in Amsterdam, 1696, and a more complete edition was issued in Jena, 1728. Among them is found the poem, *De immortalitate animarum libri tres*, (first printed in 1552), directed against Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, on which his reputation as a poet is largely based. Cf. Bayle's *Dictionnaire*; Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, VII, p. 111.

⁹ The Dutch jurist and historian, Antoine Matthæus (1635-1710), professor of law at the University of Leyden. He studied especially the history of the Netherlands during the Middle Ages, and published important works on this subject.

¹⁰ André Alciat (1492-1550), the famous Italian jurist, known for his many works, such as the *Emblemata*, the *De verborum significationibus*, *Paradoxorum juris civilis libri VI*, etc. In 1695, Matthæus published in Leyden his *Alciati Tractatus contra vitam monasticam*, the volume to which Bayle refers. (It was republished in 1708 and 1740). Cf. Bayle's *Dictionnaire*; Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*; etc.

¹¹ Marcus Zuerius Boxhornius (or van Boxhorn), born in 1612 in Berg-op-Zoom, died in 1653 in Leyden. He became professor of eloquence in the University of Leyden at the age of twenty, and the successor of Daniel Heinsius as professor of history and politics. He was the son of Jacob Zuerius, minister at Berg-op-Zoom, and was educated by his grandfather, Henri van Boxhorn, adopting his name which was of noble origin (see J. F. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, II, p. 841). His grandfather, Henri van Boxhorn, was a Brabant priest, Dean of Tienen, Belgium, who became a Protestant. He is the author of the *Anti-Cuyckius*, 1598 (see Baillet, *Jugement des Savants*, VII, pp. 73-75), directed against the vicar-general of Malines, Henri Cuyckius, later bishop of Roermond, who had published, in 1596, an open letter to exhort him to come back to Catholicism, and who had denied his right to nobility. This Henri van Boxhorn was Protestant minister at Woerden (near Leyden) and at Breda. Some of Zuerius van Boxhorn's works are: *Poemata*, 1629; *Scriptores latini minores historia Augusta cum notis*, 1632, 4 vols.; *De typographica artis inventione*, 1640; and a number of other titles. On him see Baillet, *op. cit.*, II, p. 415; D. Clément, *Bibliothèque curieuse*, 1754, V, pp. 169-170;

Il y en a quelques-unes de Gifanius,¹³ de Tycho Brahé,¹⁴ etc. On a publié depuis peu à La Haye une nouvelle édition des *Lettres de Bongars*,¹⁵ le latin d'un côté et le français de l'autre. Cette édition est beaucoup meilleure que les précédentes, car outre que l'on a corrigé la version française en divers endroits où elle était mauvaise, quoiqu'elle eût été faite *in usum Delphini*, on y a joint les lettres françaises de l'auteur, et remis les endroits que le traducteur en avait retranchés par principe de bigoterie ou de politique. Cent jolies choses que l'auteur disait librement contre la Ligue, ou contre quelques théologiens avaient été supprimés dans l'édition de Paris. On les restitue dans celle-ci. Mr. Gronovius vient de publier le *Monumentum Ancyranum*,¹⁶ plus ample qu'il n'a jamais paru, et il y a joint des notes assez courtes, mais toutes à son ordinaire. C'est un petit in-quarto. Je ne parle point de la *Vie de Mr. Colbert*, ni du *Testament politique de Mr. de Louvois*,¹⁷ deux pièces qu'on a imprimées à

Nicéron, *Mémoires*, vols. IV and X. Bayle speaks of him in his *Dictionnaire* under the name Marcus Zuerius.

¹² The Dutch historian, Jean-Isaac Pontanus (1571-1639), born at Elsinore, where his father was Dutch consul. After having completed his studies, he spent three years with Tycho Brahé on the island of Hven. In 1604 he became professor of history and philosophy at the College of Harderwyck, and in 1620 he was made historiographer to the King of Denmark, and also historiographer of the States of Gelderland. He wrote a number of historical and archaeological works as, for instance, the *Historia urbis et rerum Amstelodamensium*, 1611; *Originum Francicarum libri VI*, in which he attempted to prove the racial affinity of the French and Germans, and that the Franks held beliefs similar to those of the Protestants,—a work put on the Index; the *Rerum Danicarum historia*, 1631; etc.

¹³ Obert Gifanius, humanist and jurist, born in Buren in Gelderland, Holland, and died in Prague on July 26, 1609. After having studied in several countries, he became professor of philosophy in Strassburg, and later in Altdorf and in Ingolstadt. He became a Protestant, and entered the service of the Emperor Rudolph as councilor. For his works see Moréri, *Grand Dict. hist.*

¹⁴ Tycho Brahé (Tyge Brahe), the renowned Danish astronomer, born 1546, and died in Prague in 1601.

¹⁵ The learned Calvinist, Jacques Bongars de la Boderie (1546-1612). The *Hommes illustres de l'Orléanais* states he was born in Orléans in 1554. For thirty years he was in the service of Henri IV, who entrusted important negotiations to him: "Sixte V ayant fulminé, en 1585, une bulle contre le roi de Navarre et le prince de Condé, Bongars, alors ambassadeur à Rome, y fit une réponse pleine de hardiesse, et l'afficha lui-même au champ de Flore." He is the author of several historical works: in 1641 there appeared in Leyden the *Jacobi Bongarsii Epistola*, of which a French translation appeared in Paris in 1668, due to the Jansenists (re-published in 1680). This translation, as Bayle says, was censured, for the anti-Catholic passages were omitted. The 1695 edition of the Hague gave the Latin and French texts complete. Cf. on Bongars Bayle's *Dictionnaire* and the article by H. Tranchan in *Les Hommes illustres de l'Orléanais*, 1852, I, pp. 193-199.

¹⁶ In 1695 Jacob Gronovius published the *Memoria Cossoniana, hoc est Danielis Cossonis vita . . . cui annexa est nova editio Monumenti Ancyranum cum notis*, Leyden, 1695, in-4. The *Memoria Cossoniana* deals with Daniel Cosson, the Dutch archaeologist (1648-1688) murdered at Hadgilar, near Smyrna. The son of a rich trader, he studied with Gronovius the father, learned Oriental languages, and travelled all over Asia Minor to form a collection of views of the numerous old monuments and ruins. His possessions were all lost in the Smyrna earthquake of July 10, 1688. He himself was murdered soon after by Algerian pirates, because he could not furnish a ransom.

¹⁷ *La Vie de Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Ministre d'Etat sous Louis XIV . . .* (by Gatien Sandras de Courtiz), Cologne, 1695, in-12. (A second, enlarged edition was published in Cologne, 1696, and the work was reissued in vol. IX, of the *Archives curieuses de l'Histoire de France*, Série II, 1834, edited by M. L. Cimber. An English translation appeared in 1695: *The Life of the Famous J. B. Colbert, Late Minister and Secretary of State to Lewis XIV. Done into English*

Amsterdam, et qui ont été composées à Paris, mais peut-être qu'on y a fait des changements et des additions en les imprimant. Je suppose que vous avez déjà vu ces deux ouvrages; ils sont, dit-on, de la même main. Le roi d'Angleterre, Jacques II, est fort mal traité dans le *Testament politique de Mr. de Louvois*. L'auteur est plus heureux en raisonnements qu'en narrations historiques; c'est une chose prodigieuse que les anachronismes qu'il commet en racontant ce qui s'est passé depuis vingt ans dans l'Europe; les événements sont presque tous dérangés dans cet ouvrage; jugez s'il ne fait point de paralogismes. Il y a aussi bien des faux faits. Mr. Leydecker, professeur en théologie à Utrecht, vient de publier un livre latin qu'on peut appeler l'histoire du Jansénisme.¹⁸ Il y donne la vie de Jansénisme, et l'histoire de son *Augustinus*, à quoi il mêle beaucoup d'observations de controverse. Cela vaut la peine d'être lu. Je viens de voir le titre d'une petite satire que je m'en vais copier: *L'Esprit familier de Trianon ou l'Apparition de la Duchesse de Fontanges, contenant les secrets de ses amours, les particularités de son empoisonnement et plusieurs autres aventures très remarquables*.¹⁹ Notre ami, Mr. l'Abbé Nicaise, sera bien aise d'apprendre que le livre de Mr. Brenner, *Thesaurus nummorum Sueo-Gothicorum vetustus studio indefesso 50 annorum spatio collectus, secundum seriem temporum dispositus*, dont on n'avait fait que tirer un petit nombre d'exemplaires, sera publié plus ample et avec un beau commentaire bientôt.²⁰ "Je vous prie, Monsieur, de faire mes compliments très respectueux au Père L. de la Ville;²¹ j'ai une faveur à vous demander à l'un ou à l'autre.

from a French Copy . . . , London, R. Bentley, 1695, in-8.); and *Testament politique du Marquis de Louvois* (by Gatiien Sandras de Courtitz), Cologne, 1695 (reprinted in 1706, 1716, and Amsterdam, 1749, in vol. IV of the *Recueil des Testaments politiques*). In a letter of June 2, 1695, Bayle attributes this *Vie* and the *Testament politique* de M. Louvois to the author of *Les Galanteries des Rois de France*, that is, Vannel. They are, however, by Sandras de Courtitz. The reason for Bayle's mistake is that he confused Courtitz' *Intrigues amoureuses de la Cour de France*, 1684 (reprinted in 1694), with Vannel's *Galanteries des Rois de France*. Cf. Barbier, *Dict. des Ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes*.

¹⁸ The Dutch theologian, Melchior Leydecker (1642-1722), professor of theology at Utrecht, known for his vigorous controversies with many theologians. The volume to which Bayle refers is the *Historia Jansenismi* libr. IV, 1695. He is the author of several other volumes both in Latin and in Dutch.

¹⁹ This title is listed differently in Graesse, *Trésor de Livres rares*, II, p. 504, and Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, II, col. 1065: *L'Esprit familier du Trianon ou l'Apparition de la duchesse de Fontange, contenant les secrets de ses amours et de sa mort*, Paris, Veuve de Jean Felix (Amsterdam), 1695, in-12.

²⁰ Elias Brenner, the Swedish archaeologist (1647-1717). The first edition of the *Thesaurus*, here referred to, appeared in 1691 at Stockholm. A new edition with a supplement was issued in 1731: *Thesaurus nummorum Sueo-Gothicorum, studio indefesso Elia Brenneri, L. annorum spatio collectus, secundum seriem temporum dispositus et tenebris erutus atque cum commentatione in apicrum prolatus: accessit ejusdem auctoris libellus de Nummophylaciis Sueciae. De scriptoribus rei Nummariae Suebica; atque de thesauris, seu variis vetustorum nummorum cumulis, passim per Sueoniam fortuito casu repertis*, Holmiz, typ. J. L. Horren, 1731, in-4.

²¹ Louis de la Ville, pseudonym of Père de Valois, Jesuit (born in Melun, 1639, died in Paris, 1700), was the confessor of the grandson of Louis XIV and superior of the Monastery of the Rue Saint-Antoine. He is the author of *Œuvres spirituelles*, Paris, 1758, 3 vols. He engaged in polemics on Cartesian philosophy when his *Sentimens de Monsieur Descartes* was attacked. Bayle explains its publication as follows: "En l'année 1680 un Jésuite de Caën nommé le Père de Valois, se déguisant sous le nom feint de Louis de la Ville, fit imprimer un *Traité*, qui s'intitule, *Sentimens de Monsieur Descartes touchant l'essence et les propriétés du corps*

C'est de m'apprendre s'il est vrai que Papyre Masson assure qu'Héloïse, maîtresse d'Abélard, était fille du Chanoine de Paris [Fulbert];²² et s'il est vrai qu'Eysengreinus ait publié son *Catalogus Testium veritatis* avant que Flacius Illyricus eut publié le sien.²³

"Je suis, avec toute sorte de reconnaissance de toutes vos bontés officieuses, votre très humble et obéissant serviteur,

Bayle."

"Je vous demande la grâce de faire tenir l'incluse à Mr. Baillet."²⁴

Between August 18, 1695, and March 15, 1696, there occurred a break of about seven months in the correspondence between Bayle and Pinsson de Riolles. It is only after this rather long lapse of time that the Parisian lawyer sent his replies to Bayle's several questions, but, as a compensation, he sent him several books and pamphlets that had just appeared.

"Le 15 de Mars, 1696."²⁵

"Pour Monsieur Pinsson de Riolles:

"Après avoir été fort longtemps, Monsieur, sans recevoir de vos lettres, j'ai été largement récompensé de ma longue attente depuis deux jours par la réception d'un gros paquet, où j'ai trouvé avec une de vos lettres fort ample, et par conséquent très agréable, une grosse dépêche pour Mr. Allix²⁶ que Mr. Leers lui fera tenir par voie sûre, des vers de Mr. de Santeuil²⁷ avec leur traduction en français, l'éloge de Mr. Hallé,²⁸ celui

opposez à la Doctrine de l'Eglise, et conformes aux erreurs de Calvin sur le sujet de l'Eucharistie. Avec une Dissertation sur la prétendue possibilité des choses impossibles. Par Mr. de la Ville, Paris, 1680, in-12." Bayle discussed this work in the volume, *Recueil de quelques Pièces curieuses concernant la Philosophie de M. Descartes*, 1684, of which he was editor. In the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* of March, 1684, Bayle reviewed several pamphlets written against Louis de Valois by Cartesian philosophers, and in *Idem*, May, 1684, he discussed a defense of Father Malebranche against M. de la Ville. Cf. *Œuvres diverses* of Bayle, ed. 1737, IV, p. 580; etc.

²² The work of Papyre Masson (1544-1611), which Bayle has here in mind, is *Annalius Libri IV, quibus res gesta Francorum explicantur a Clodione ad Franciscum I*, 1577, 1598. In his *Dictionnaire* Bayle stated: "Papyre Masson (*Annal. Libr. III*) avance qu'Héloïse étoit fille naturelle d'un certain Jean, Chanoine de Paris. André du Chêne a raison de ne s'arrêter pas à cela, puisqu'on ne dit pas d'où l'on puise cette circonstance curieuse." He then points out that the name of the Canon, who was Héloïse's father, was most probably Fulbert and not Jean. This Fulbert, he argues, may have just pretended to be her uncle, since he had taken holy orders and could not openly avow that she was his daughter.

²³ William Eisengrein or Eysengrein, the German theologian, Canon of Spire, who lived in the second half of the 16th century. The volume here referred to is: *Catalogus testium veritatis locupletissimus, omnium orthodoxæ matris ecclesiæ doctorum, extantium et non extantium, publicorum et in bibliothecis latentium, qui adulterina ecclesiæ dogmata, . . . in hunc usque diem . . . impugnaverunt, . . . seriem complectens*, Delingæ, 1565, in-4. See in the *Dictionnaire* the article Illyricus (Matthias Flacius, 1520-1575): "Il [Mr. de Sponde] se trompe d'ailleurs quand il suppose qu'Illyricus ne publia son *Catalogus testium veritatis* que pour l'opposer au livre de Guillaume Ensengreinus; c'est tout le contraire . . ."

²⁴ Adrien Baillet (1649-1706), the well-known author of the *Jugements des Savants sur les principaux Ouvrages des Auteurs*, 1683, etc. This letter by Bayle is unpublished.

²⁵ Published from the Columbia University Manuscript of Letters by Bayle.

²⁶ Pierre Allix (1641-1717), then Protestant minister of the French church in London. Cf. the "Unpublished Letters of Pierre Bayle", *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, No. 3, 1932, p. 211, note 24.

²⁷ Jean Baptiste de Santeuil, or Santeuil (1630-1697), Modern Latin poet, known for his bizarre character. He was a friend of Pinsson de Riolles. In a letter to him of August 26,

de feu Monseigneur de Paris,²⁹ et de M. Des Mahis,³⁰ et les pièces que Mr. le Cardinal de Bouillon a fait vérifier.³¹ Il y avait pour Mr. de Beauval³² deux livres (que je lui ai remis tout aussitôt, car il était dans cette ville quand je reçus votre paquet) savoir l'éloge de Mr. Hallé et celui de Mr. Des Mahis. Il m'a chargé de vous faire ses remerciements et ses compliments très humbles. Je vous supplie d'agréer avec les miens, la prière que je vous fais de témoigner ma reconnaissance à ceux qui m'ont envoyé par votre canal de leurs ouvrages. Si j'avais eu celui de Mr. Hallé quand je fis son article, je m'en serais bien aidé, mais sans ce secours, j'ai eu de quoi me tirer d'affaire par l'éloge manuscrit que vous aviez eu la bonté de m'envoyer avec ses poèmes et ses harangues.

"Je passe à votre lettre, Monsieur, vous remerciant très humblement de la peine que vous avez prise au sujet de l'édition d'Eysengreinius et

1697, Bayle speaks of "votre ami, Mr. de Santeuil" (Gigas, *op. cit.*, p. 103). Cf. on him the supplement to Bayle's letter of July 26, 1694, in ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIV, No. 3, 1933, note 40.

²⁸ Pinsson de Riolles had communicated to Bayle the Latin *Eloge* of Pierre Hallé, professor of the Collège d'Harcourt, who died in 1689. It was composed by his nephew, Jean Hallé, secretary to the king. Cf. "Unpublished Letters of Pierre Bayle", ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIII, No. 3, 1932, note 9.

²⁹ François de Harlay-Chanvallon, fifth archbishop of Paris (1625-1695). In 1651 he succeeded his uncle, François de Harlay (1585-1653) as archbishop of Rouen, and played an important rôle in politics. He defended Mazarin when he was exiled, and it is said that it was thanks to him that the minister returned to power. He became archbishop of Paris in 1671 and is reputed to have officiated at the secret marriage of Louis XIV and Mme de Maintenon. He was, in part, responsible for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and is known for his cruelty towards the Protestants. The *Eloge*, here referred to, is: Legendre, *Eloge de Mgr. de Harlay*, 1695.

³⁰ Marin Grostête Des Mahis (1649-1694), Protestant minister at Orléans, converted to Catholicism in 1683. He became Canon of the Church of Orléans, and wrote the *Lettres sur le Chisme des Protestants*, 1685, and *La Vérité de la Religion catholique prouvée par l'Ecriture Sainte*, 1696, 2 vols. The *Eloge* of Mr. Des Mahis, to which Bayle here refers, may be either the *Eloge de Marin Grostête des Mahis*, which appeared in the *Journal des Savants*, 1696, 14th issue, or else, the *Eloge historique de feu M. des Mahis, chanoine de l'Eglise d'Orléans, ci-devant ministre de la religion prétendue réformée*, which precedes his volume, *La Vérité de la Religion catholique* . . . , 1696.

³¹ The Cardinal of Bouillon, Emmanuel-Théodose de La Tour-d'Auvergne (1644-1715), was the son of the Duke of Bouillon, Frédéric-Maurice (1605-1652), who fought Richelieu and Mazarin. During the *Fronde* his possessions were declared confiscated, but in 1651 he exchanged his principality of Sedan against other possessions in France, keeping intact, however, his rights to the Duchy of Bouillon. His son's life was spent in defending its independence against the encroachments of Louis XIV. Created a cardinal in 1669, he became "grand-aumônier" to the King, but soon he published a *Mémoire* (composed by Etienne Baluze or by the lawyer, Le Vaillant) in which he defended his sovereign rights, and claimed for one of his nephews the title of "Dauphin d'Auvergne." His demands were refused. The minister, Louvois, intercepted one of his letters satirizing the King and the "Cardinal-aumônier," and he was obliged to leave the court. In 1694 he attempted to be elected Prince-Bishop of Liège, but Clemens-Joseph of Bavaria was finally chosen. The documents which he had verified may be the fragments of an old chartulary and of an *Obituary* of Brioude, through which he intended to prove that the Dukes of Bouillon descended directly from the ancient Dukes of Guienne, Counts of Auvergne. Etienne Baluze published them in his *Histoire généalogique de la Maison d'Auvergne* (1708), a work for which he was imprisoned and deprived of his possessions by Louis XIV. In 1710 the Parliament also decreed the arrest and the seizure of the entire income and all the property of the Cardinal of Bouillon, who fled from the Kingdom.

³² Henri Basnage de Beauval (1656-1710), editor of the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savants*. Cf. notes 3 and 4 of the preceding letter of Bayle, August 18, 1695.

d'Illyricus.³³ Vous me confirmez ce que j'avais enfin cru avoir avéré: que certainement l'ouvrage d'Eysengreinius est postérieur, et sur cette assurance j'avais hardiment critiqué Mr. de Sponde,³⁴ qui sur la supposition contraire a bâti une fausse réflexion. On verra cela dans mon article d' 'Illyricus.' Depuis la demande que je vous fis touchant Héloïse, j'ai eu en main les *Annales de France* de Papyre Masson et j'y ai trouvé qu'il la fait fille d'un Chanoine de Paris, c'est-à-dire du Chanoine qui la donna à instruire à Abélard.³⁵

"J'ai trouvé l'éloge composé par Mr. le Gendre, Chanoine de l'Eglise de Paris, très bien tourné;³⁶ je sens une vive gratitude pour la bonté qu'il a eue de m'en envoyer un exemplaire, et je vous supplie de l'en assurer. Quand je parlerai du prélat, si jamais je fais une seconde édition (car il n'était pas mort lorsque ma lettre H s'imprimait), je n'oublierai point de faire mention de cet éloge. Nos libraires ont réimprimé son oraison funèbre par le P. Gaillard.³⁷ Nous ne recevons plus de nouvelles de notre illustre ami; j'ai su par une voie détournée qu'il se préparait à soutenir des thèses.³⁸ Si vous le pouvez joindre, marquez-lui, je vous en conjure, combien je l'honore. Si vous savez des circonstances de l'état de notre ami qu'on a transféré à Angers,³⁹ je vous prie de m'en apprendre. Il est certain que Aonius Palearius⁴⁰ n'a point été persécuté pour son poème, *De Immortalitate animorum*, qui ne contient rien que d'orthodoxe selon les principes de l'Eglise, car Jacques Sadolet, évêque de Carpentras, n'eut rendu son témoignage lorsqu'il écrivit à Gryphius de l'imprimer.

"Vous trouverez dans la lettre que j'écris à Mr. l'Abbé Nicaise⁴¹ ce

³³ In the preceding letter of August 18, 1695, Bayle had asked Pinsson de Riollès whether it was true that Eysengreinius had stated in his *Catalogus testium veritatis* (1565) that Flacius Illyricus had published his volume of the same title before his. In fact, the work of Illyricus was printed in Bâle in 1556, and the work of Eysengreinius in Dillingen in 1565. Cf. note 23 of the preceding letter. He published in Ingolstadt, in 1566, his *Centenarii XVI, continentis descriptionem rerum memorabilium in Ecclesia, contra Matthiam Flacium Illyricum*. Cf. Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, article "Illyricus," note E.

³⁴ H. de Sponde, in his continuations of the *Annales de Baronius*, year 1560, had stated that the ecclesiastical history generally called *Les Centuries de Magdebourg*, published under the general direction of M. F. Illyricus, appeared first in 1560, and that the fourth volume was issued before the other three. In footnote H of the article "Illyricus" in the *Dictionnaire*, Bayle pointed out that, on the contrary, the first three volumes had appeared in 1559.

³⁵ Cf. note 22 of the preceding letter of Bayle, August 18, 1695.

³⁶ Le Gendre, *Eloge de Mgr. de Harlay*, 1695. He later published a *Vie de Mgr. de Harlay*, 1720.

³⁷ The Jesuit father, Honoré Raynaud de Gaillard (1641-1727), who composed the *Oraison funèbre de Mgr. de Harlay de Chanvallon*. He had pronounced, in 1693, the *Oraison funèbre de Louis de la Tour d'Auvergne, prince de Turenne*.

³⁸ Probably the Abbé Jean-Baptiste Du Bos, Bayle's correspondent, who, in 1691, had received his degree of Bachelor of Sorbonne, and was preparing his doctoral dissertation.

³⁹ On the five-year imprisonment of Daniel de Larroque (c. 1660-1731), see the article: "On the Imprisonment of Bayle's Collaborator, Daniel de Larroque (1694)," *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, No. 2, 1932.

⁴⁰ Cf. note 8 of the preceding letter of August 18, 1695. In the article "Palearius" of his *Dictionnaire*, note F, Bayle writes: "Jacques Sadolet Evêque de Carpentras écrivit à Gryphius, pour l'exhorter à l'imprimer . . . On ne sauroit recommander un Ouvrage plus avantageusement à un imprimeur, que Sadolet recommanda celui-ci à Sébastien Gryphius." He reprinted part of the bishop's eulogy.

⁴¹ See note 6 of the preceding letter of August 18, 1695. Bayle's letter to the Abbé Nicaise of March 16, 1696, remains unpublished.

que je sais de nouvelles, car aussi je vous l'envoie ouverte pour n'écrire pas deux fois la même chose. Et comme vous êtes l'ami le plus officieux que je connaisse, je suis sûr que vous approuverez la liberté que je prends de me servir de votre entremise pour lui écrire, comme aussi celle de vous prier d'écrire au P. de la Mainferme,⁴² que je salue avec respect: 'Si l'on trouve dans le *Nécrologue de Fontevrault* le jour et l'an de la mort d'Eléonor de Guienne, femme de Louis VII, et puis d'un Roi d'Angleterre?' J'ai cité dans l'article de Louis VII ce que ce père a rapporté dudit *Nécrologue* concernant cette princesse, mais il ne dit point quand elle mourut.⁴³ Si j'avais su l'année, j'aurais soutenu plus hardiment que je ne l'ai fait que Mr. de Mézerai⁴⁴ se trompe.

"Vous, Monsieur, et les autres amis de l'illustre Mr. Ménage, avez inséré dans le *Ménagiana* le conte des trois Racans⁴⁵ que Mr. de Caillière avait déjà publié beaucoup plus au long.⁴⁶ Il dit, et on le répète dans la suite du *Ménagiana*, que Mademoiselle de Gournai était gasconne.⁴⁷ Je doute de cela et avec raison, ce me semble, car quoiqu'elle fût fille de Montagne, gentilhomme du Périgord, il ne s'ensuit pas qu'elle fut de ces quartiers, car elle n'était sa fille que d'adoption, comme vous savez. Prenez

⁴² Jean de la Mainferme, the Benedictine monk of the Monastery of Fontevrault (1646-1693), author of *Dissertationes in epistolam contra Robertum de Arbrissello*, Saumur, 1682, and *Clypeus nascentis ordinis Fontebraldensis*, 1684, 3 vols. In these works he attempts to refute accusations brought against Robert d'Arbrissel, founder of the abbey of Fontevrault. He defends his moral conduct, which had been sharply attacked by Geoffroy, Abbé de la Trinité, because he had ordered the monks of his order to follow the directions of the abess. Cf. note 13 of the letter of June 25, 1693, in *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, No. 3, 1932, p. 209.

⁴³ In his *Dictionnaire*, article "Louis VII," note G, Bayle writes: "Je suis fâché que le Père de la Mainferme n'ait point marqué le jour et l'année de la mort d'Eléonor; car si c'est le 31 de Mars 1204, comme l'assure Mr. Moréri, il s'ensuit que Mrs. de Mézerai et De Larrey se sont trompez, quand ils ont dit que Jean sans Terre n'osa tuer son neveu Artus pendant la vie de sa mère. Mr. Pinson des Riolles, que j'avois prié de consulter le Père de la Mainferme, m'a prité que ce Religieux étoit mort, et que le Père Labbe dans ses *Tableaux généalogiques*, et le Père Anselme dans son *Histoire de la Maison Royale de France*, marquent le tems de la mort d'Eléonor comme Moréri."

⁴⁴ The historian, François Eudes de Mézeray (1610-1683).

⁴⁵ The "Conte des trois Racans" narrates the visit of two impersonators of the stammering Racan to Mlle de Gournay, who loses patience when, at last, the real Racan appears and chases him "à grands coups de mule." It is found in the *Ménagiana*, 1729, III, pp. 83-85. Boissier was largely the inventor of this story which he enacted in drawing rooms. The anecdote is already found, with different names, "Les Trois Sallustes," in Sorel's *Francion*, Book I, 10, and also in De Callières' *Des bons mots et des bons contes. De leur usage, de la Raillerie et des Railleurs de notre tems*, Paris, Barbin, 1692, p. 252 (other editions 1693, 1699). The story of the "Trois Racans" is also found in Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, 1861, III, p. 124-127. Boissier composed a play on this adventure, *Les trois Oromes*, 1653.

⁴⁶ On François de Callières, see the article by Mario Roques in the *Mélanges de Philologie offerts à Ferdinand Brunot* (Paris, 1904, pp. 273-301): "Notes sur François de Callières et ses Œuvres grammaticales (1645-1717)." He wrote, besides the work mentioned above: *Des mots à la mode et des nouvelles façons de parler. Avec des observations sur diverses manières d'agir et de s'exprimer. Et un discours en vers sur les mêmes matières*, Paris, Barbin, 1692 (*Seconde édition augmentée* . . . , 1692; other editions 1693, 1698); *Du bon et du mauvais usage dans les manières de s'exprimer. Des façons de parler bourgeoises. Et en quoy elles sont différentes de celles de la Cour. Suite des Mots à la mode*, Paris, Barbin, 1693; etc.

⁴⁷ The *Ménagiana*, 1729, III, p. 83, states: "Elle étoit de Gascogne, fort vive et un peu emportée de son naturel."

la peine, à votre loisir, d'avérer ce qui en est. Hilarion de Coste n'éclaircit point ce qui regarde son pays natal. Je me sers quelquefois avec fruit de la lecture des deux volumes de ce Minime que vous m'avez acheté;⁴⁸ souvenez-vous des autres volumes quand vous trouverez l'occasion de les acheter.

"On a imprimé en ce pays-ci les œuvres du grand poète, Mr. de Santeuil, depuis plus d'un an. Nous n'avons point vu le panégyrique de Mr. de Fieubet dont vous me parlez, par l'Abbé Anselme.⁴⁹ Je sais que c'est un de vos bons prédicateurs. D'où est-il, s'il vous plaît? Car vous savez que j'aime extrêmement à connaître la patrie des gens distingués. Toutes les comédies qui paraissent à Paris sont aussitôt réimprimées en ce pays-ci. Je ne pense pas qu'il nous en manque aucune de Mrs. Palaprat, Dancour, etc.⁵⁰ On y a réimprimé aussi les tragédies de Pradon, de Campistron, le théâtre de Boursaut, etc.⁵¹ Les Hollandais achètent avec plaisir tout cela, mais pour les livres d'érudition nos libraires n'en impriment presque aucun. Mon *Dictionnaire* pourra paraître, Dieu aidant, vers la fin de cette année. La lettre N est presque achevée d'imprimer.

"Adieu, Monsieur. Je suis, avec toute sorte de reconnaissance, votre très humble serviteur,

Bayle."

"J'ai quelquefois beaucoup de peine à déchiffrer votre écriture.

"J'ai à vous demander si le *Mercurie Galant* fit mention en son temps de l'assassin du Roi Guillaume, car on a publié ici que Mr. l'Archevêque de Reims et Mr. de Barbésieux [poussèrent le chevalier de Grandval à] assassiner le Roi Guillaume et que c'est à lui-même qu'il le déclara."⁵²

⁴⁸ Olivier de Coste, called Frère Hilarion of the Order of the Minims. See note 2 of the preceding letter of August 18, 1695.

⁴⁹ Gaspard de Fieubet, magistrate and poet (born in Toulouse, 1626, †Sept. 10, 1694). He was counselor at the Parlement of Toulouse, chancellor of Queen Maria-Theresa of Austria, Counselor of State, who later retired to a monastery. His poetry is dispersed in various *Recueils* as, for instance, the *Recueil de Vers choisis*, published by Père Bouhours, which contains his fable of *Ulysse et les Sirènes*. Father Anselme pronounced his *Oraison funèbre*. Cf. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*

Le Père Antoine Anselme (born Jan. 13, 1652, in the Isle-Jourdain, Comté d'Armagnac, † 1737), well-known preacher. Mme de Sévigné made his eulogy in her letter of April 8, 1689. From 1681 on, he preached at court and in the principal churches of the capital. In 1710 he became member of the Académie des Inscriptions. His *Oraisons funèbres* were printed in Paris, 1718, 3 vols., his *Sermons* in 1721, 4 vols., etc.

⁵⁰ Jean Palaprat (1650-1721), who frequently collaborated with Bruëys; Florent Carton Dancourt (1661-1725).

⁵¹ Jacques Pradon (1632-1698); Jean Galbert de Campistron (1656-1713); Edme Boursault (1638-1701).

⁵² This postscript is partly erased in the manuscript. Bayle explains the circumstances of this attempted assassination in his letter to Minutoli of August 28, 1692: "Le Procès de l'infame Chevalier de Grandval doit avoir été publié en quatre Langues. Il paroît par ses dépositions, et par celles d'un de ses complices à qui on a pardonné, que le dessein d'attenter à la personne sacrée de Sa Majesté Britannique a été machiné par Mr. de Louvois, et après sa mort, continué sur ses *Mémoires* par Mr. de Barbésieux. On y voit mêlez Mrs. de Chaulais, et de Rébénac; mais il n'y a pas un seul mot, qui témoigne que le Roi de France en ait eu aucune connoissance. Ce Chevalier fut puni à la manière des Anglois, comme criminel de haute trahison, et son corps

écartelé, etc. C'est une chose qui fait horreur, et qui sans doute fera du chagrin à la Cour de France" (Bayle, *Œuvres diverses*, ed. 1737, IV, p. 677).

Louis-François Le Tellier de Barbésieux (1668-1701), third son of the famous and fanatical Marquis de Louvois, followed his father's career in becoming a minister of Louis XIV (secretary of state in the department of war), but he did not at all inherit his talents.

Charles-Maurice Le Tellier, archbishop of Reims (1642-1710), was his uncle.

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(To be continued)

MISCELLANEOUS

THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN PROVENÇAL NARRATIVE POETRY

IN A STUDY of the use of the subjunctive in Provençal narrative poetry I have examined¹ *La Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*,² *Flamenca*,³ and *Jaufre*.⁴

It would be strange if, after years of study in the field of Romance scholarship, the general principles underlying the use of the subjunctive were not well understood and the various peculiarities of the Romance languages in their use of these moods were not comparatively evident. Just as strange, however, if in a field no more completely worked than Provençal it were impossible by closer study to find new light on the subject.

Such a study as I have made has, I judge, an aim slightly different from that of certain forms of scientific investigation in which a new theory is promulgated and supported. Instead of proving by a study of representative Provençal narrative poems any use of the subjunctive never before known, I have been interested to see in how far my findings agree with those resulting from other studies in the same general field. In case of disagreement among these, I may place some evidence on one side or the other. But above all, the object has been a search for more definite knowledge regarding situations already partially understood. My study has, I believe, made some such contribution to the subject of the use of the subjunctive in Provençal.

Poetry is not altogether satisfactory material for the study of syntax. The diction of poetry is probably never quite the standard usage. The personality of the poet results in the repetition of favorite expressions (which strongly resemble in these poems the epic formulae at times) and in the choice of unusual words and forms. Besides this, the meter is exacting and limits the choice of a word by the number of syllables needed to complete the line. In the Albigensian Crusade which contains *laisses*⁵ ranging from 8 to 184 lines all ending in the same rhyme sound, the rhyme need has done much to determine the expressions available. The rhymed couplets of shorter lines in *Flamenca* and *Jaufre* are as exacting in their limitations.

On the other hand, poetry is eminently suitable as a basis for the study of the subjunctive. This mood expresses not the stern realities so much as hopes, dreams, wishes, possibilities — the stuff that poetry is made of. It is the mood for figurative expression — the form in which poetry is expressed. One ex-

¹ For statement concerning dates, authorship, etc., see article on "Contrary to Fact Condition in Provençal", *ROMANIC REVIEW*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1931, pp. 43-46.

² *La Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*, 2 vols., Paris, 1875.

³ *Le Roman de Flamenca*, Paris, 1865; 2ème éd., 1901.

⁴ *Jaufre, ein Altprovenzalischer Abenteuerroman des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen, 1923.

⁵ See the Albigensian Crusade, Introduction, pp. XCIV & CVIII.

pects, therefore, to find a wealth of examples and to find them expressive of the whole gamut of meanings within the scope of the subjunctive mood.

The independent use of the subjunctive has not been a part of this study. Its use in Provençal seems to be so clear and conventional⁶ that I have devoted myself to the use in dependent clauses. The basic principle underlying the subjunctive in Provençal is the same that we find in Latin and all its derivatives—it is used to express uncertainty, indefiniteness, improbability. It is not, however, the only form in which these ideas can be expressed; and there is, therefore, a question as between the subjunctive and the future indicative, for example, in some cases. Certain expressions are more likely to be followed by the subjunctive than others, and it is on such questions as these that the lists of examples here gathered give evidence.

As is true in other Romance languages, the subjunctive in Provençal is found in substantive clauses following certain verbs, such as ordering, wishing, fearing, doubting, hoping, thinking, believing, and knowing. There are also examples of subjunctive clauses with impersonals.

Examples from the three poems follow. After *mandar*: A. C., 1090, 1362, 1737, 3172, 4037, 4974, 5238, 5356, 5475, 5482, 5514, 5549, 6451, 6625, 6698, 7621, 8089, 8413, 9408, 9421; F., 133, 3388, 4485, 5300; J., 179, 3650, 6401, 6654, 6804, 7104, 7519, 8331, 9298, 9659, 9733, 9754, 10072, 10234, 10394. After *comandar*: A. C., 2538; J., 1215, 2293, 3246, 3622, 3709, 6392, 7339, 10754, 10771, 10843. After *sonar*: J., 9708. After *castiar*: J., 193. After *escriurar*: A. C., 4194. After *dire*: A. C., 373, 1194, 1303, 1376, 1715, 2970, 3154; F., 4770, 5423, 6142, 7298, 7714; J., 2124, 3747, 5978, 7243, 7634, 7975, 9414, 10933. After *establi*: J., 10413. After *tramet*: A. C., 2896, 4774, 7592. After *somonir*: A. C., 5824, 7858. After *enseinar*: F., 2012. After *prometre*: A. C., 4995; F., 2045, 6534; J., 4723. After *juar*: A. C., 9546; J., 4144. After *prendre cosselh*: A. C., 1297 and *dar cosselh*: A. C., 5444. After *conselhar*: F., 1033, 7106; J., 1012, 3518, 3673, 9404. After *consentir*: F., 6509. After *entendre*: F., 4667. After *laiszar*: J., 5897. After *sufrir*: A. C., 2364; F., 4954, 4996, 5162; J., 317, 5620, 7180. After *defendre*: A. C., 5769; F., 4925. After *vedar*: J., 655. After *orar*: J., 4604. After *demandar*: J., 6266. After *desirar*: F., 7. After *querir*: F., 436; J., 598, 2338, 5569, 6555, 6627. After *enquerir*: A. C., 8712. After *pregar*: A. C., 90, 189, 393, 870, 1335, 1423, 1486, 1725, 1903, 5296, 5322, 6344, 6765, 7101, 7295, 7836, 8088, 8285, 8538, 9050, 9063; F., 364, 1866, 2010, 2281, 2349, 2873, 3257, 3511, 3553, 3667, 5475, 5881, 6110, 6244, 6463, 6893, 7064, 7079, 7090, 7304, 7596; J., 384, 417, 566, 1881, 2052, 2840, 4210, 4433, 4552, 4864, 4949, 4959, 5879, 6603, 6995, 7760, 8713, 8839, 9153, 9233, 9243, 9367, 9939, 10019, 10166, 10176, 10212, 10319, 10463, 10470, 10516, 10623, 10650, 10945. After *voler*: A. C., 789, 874, 1142, 1719, 2969, 3195, 3689, 4168, 4739, 5039, 5267, 5316, 5400, 5622, 5717, 6109, 6970, 8056, 8230; F., 19, 57, 128, 171, 360, 386, 418, 448, 707, 758, 2217, 2468, 2532, 2618, 2631, 2826, 2904, 2953, 3073, 3154, 3172, 3287, 3420, 3451, 3496, 3497, 3536, 3550, 3672, 4366, 4562, 4574, 4717, 5069, 5170, 5335, 5358, 5692, 5698, 5855, 6245, 6331, 6421, 6427, 6430, 6461, 6698, 6705, 6712, 7121, 7345, 7360, 7724, 7747, 7934; J., 1505, 2005, 2010, 2874, 2938,

⁶ See Schultz-Gora, *Elementarbuch*, p. 127, Sec. 189.

3405, 3942, 4741, 5166, 5250, 7416, 7906, 7954, 8325, 8920, 8943, 9252, 9646, 10068. After *convenir*: J., 3591, 4543, 7811. After *faire*: a) with noun object: A. C., 1691, 5462, 5486; F., 267, 800; J., 412, 4044, 9898, 9977; b) with infinitive: A. C., 2791, 3033, 5554, 6229; F., 274, 1818, 2186, 4510; J., 925, 2997, 3515, 9688; c) with causal meaning: A. C., 5339; J., 5649, 7962.

After *aver paor*: F., 5590; J., 5506, 5614, 7072, 7349, 9828, 9877, 10683. After *temer*: A. C., 2540, 4735. After *esser desesperatz*: A. C., 4343. After *gardar*: F., 331, 4759. After *doptar*: F., 3532, 7426; J., 10447. After *esser doptans*: A. C., 6103.

After *pensar*:⁷ F., 504, 574, 1188, 1379, 1446, 1778, 1920, 2309, 2575, 2771, 3816, 4908, 6853, 7485; J., 4125, 7170, 7330, 8673, 9807. After *cuidar*:⁸ A. C., 184, 400, 404, 497, 500, 1007, 1010, 1291, 1434, 1501, 1552, 1567, 1825, 1896, 2165, 2264, 2279, 2299, 2378, 4345, 4673, 6281, 7052, 8229; F., 320, 862, 870, 896, 1011, 1100, 1136, 2172, 2346, 2481, 2709, 2717, 3295, 3590, 3649, 3758, 4093, 4210, 4513, 4975, 4990, 5117, 5636, 5755, 5877, 6091, 6933; J., 461, 879, 1361, 2453, 2469, 2502, 2948, 2991, 3062, 4114, 5404, 7168, 7245, 7248, 7468, 8672, 9588, 9983, 10436, 10441, 10834, 10861. After *albirar*:⁹ A. C., 15, 3620, 9014. After *creire*:¹⁰ A. C., 898, 1762, 4334, 6091; F., 857; J., 410, 528, 1318, 1354, 1487, 2134, 2300, 3042, 3900, 4784, 5888, 6156, 6232, 6438, 6945, 7245, 7364, 8150, 8260, 9722, 9839, 10057, 10656, 10903. After *saber*:¹¹ A. C., 2393, 8099; F., 2157, 2509; J., 3595, 4661, 6866, 7757, 8063.

Subjunctives with impersonals¹² are found in A. C., 2966, 3015, 3048, 3128, 3511, 3680, 4090, 4167, 4647, 4660, 5414, 5741, 5744, 5748, 5856, 6041, 6166, 6753, 6917, 6987, 7079, 7081, 8038, 8046, 8049, 8103, 8140, 8168, 8188, 8238, 8659, 8942, 9274; F., 118, 163, 352, 367, 509, 530, 763, 1108, 1707, 1808, 1816, 2047, 2094, 2139, 2442, 2539, 2606, 2687, 2727, 2898, 3000, 3020, 3089, 3198, 3266, 3427, 3576, 4052, 4156, 4174, 4618, 4656, 4748, 4866, 4869, 4954, 5053, 5213, 5224, 5318, 5324, 5557, 5623, 6129, 6152, 6229, 6530, 6834, 6897, 7744; J., 817, 907, 932, 1036, 1388, 1426, 2753, 5620, 6090, 6608, 7170, 7553, 7792, 7795, 7895, 7917, 8652, 8660, 8676, 9335, 10263.

The subjunctive in adjective clauses is found in the following examples: A. C., 17, 51, 849, 1024, 1033, 1040, 1140, 1170, 1502, 1520, 1539, 2029, 2362, 2367, 2373, 2855, 2858, 2865, 2902, 3011, 3355, 3399, 3523, 3668, 3806, 3814, 4054, 4178, 4280, 4339, 4630, 4668, 5038, 5202, 5245, 5260, 5263, 5327, 5358, 5369, 5386, 5517, 5770, 5852, 5929, 5942, 6245, 6626, 6755, 6782, 6907, 7042, 7077, 7123, 7249, 7382, 7860, 8154, 8164, 8225, 8307, 8619, 8711, 8733, 8751, 8865, 9013, 9051, 9352, 9564; F., 123, 142, 170, 179, 187, 215, 306, 532, 796, 814, 1118, 1149, 1198, 1351, 1358, 1415, 1426, 1476, 1563, 1683, 1756, 1767, 1994, 2005, 2246, 2269, 2332, 2411, 2886, 2966, 3033, 3060, 3372, 3533, 3632, 4239, 4246, 4251, 4296,

⁷ After this verb the indicative is found in F., 2276, 3477, 4915.

⁸ Indicatives: A. C., 908, 3696, 3146; F., 1417.

⁹ Indicative: F., 4449.

¹⁰ Indicatives: A. C., 6534; F., 5115; J., 3394.

¹¹ Indicatives: A. C., 3634, 6576; F., 801, 1758, 2884, 4912, 8048; J., 2432, 10894.

¹² Indicative examples are: A. C., 4336, 5818, 7124, 9007; F., 1078, 1081, 1788, 2717, 5217; J., 308, 1426, 2724, 5130.

4654, 4743, 4831, 4837, 4840, 4901, 5098, 5561, 5980, 6436, 6499, 7150, 7805, 8064; J., 24, 35, 41, 45, 126, 175, 182, 622, 629, 646, 876, 999, 1003, 1165, 1184, 1430, 1445, 1538, 1841, 2006, 2122, 2581, 2644, 3023, 3056, 3760, 3845, 3968, 4350, 4468, 4551, 4592, 4665, 4801, 4896, 5064, 5403, 5514, 5536, 5692, 5895, 6084, 6310, 6325, 6394, 6408, 6498, 6515, 6523, 6530, 6600, 6751, 7032, 7101, 7120, 7270, 7331, 7395, 7418, 7435, 7470, 7479, 7589, 7705, 7770, 7803, 7876, 8235, 8303, 8566, 8645, 8646, 8661, 8663, 8906, 8918, 9385, 9691, 9694, 10074, 10210, 10305, 10442, 10474, 10493, 10554, 10573, 10596, 10598, 10605, 10614, 10628, 10632, 10636, 10713, 10727, 10760, 10781, 10836, 10877.

The subjunctive in adjective clauses following superlatives¹⁸ is found in the following lines: A. C., 218, 360, 673, 2003, 2736, 3175; F., 1786, 6943, 7236, 7871; J., 59, 565, 2102, 5478, 6352, 8409, 9841, 9913.

The subjunctive in adjective clauses after indefinites is introduced by various conjunctions. With *qui*, *que*, and *qui que* examples are: A. C., 1140; J., 2344, 2533, 8036, 8955. With *calques*, A. C., 4338, 6435, 9071; J., 972. With *sela que*, A. C., 6535. With *aiso que*, A. C., 5745. With *aquò que*, A. C., 5771. With *que* (neuter) A. C. 9290. With *so que*, F., 3516; J., 1934, 2003, 2107, 7522, 9348, 9629. With *quant* (whatever) F., 1995.

The usage in adverbial clauses after conjunctions of time shows: After *can*, subjunctive, A. C., 5255; future indicative, A. C., 4640, 4652, 4756, 5044, 5458, 6576, 6804, 6806, 6980, 7853, 7898, 8739, 9391; F., 4918, 5019, 7085; J., 2880, 4290, 4811, 4826, 4830, 4848, 5263, 5475, 5616, 5831, 6249, 7294, 7308, 7331, 9254, 10207. After *aitan can* the subjunctive examples are: A. C., 7065, 7719, 9082; indicatives are: A. C., 2748; F., 2633; J., 5618, 8274, 8715. After *ans que* subjunctive examples are: A. C., 396, 887, 1081, 1098, 1330, 1414, 1472, 2252, 2291, 2319, 2751, 2805, 3874, 4560, 4826, 5529, 6650, 7185, 8039, 8833, 8912, 9005, 9068, 9145; F., 787, 870, 1866, 2784, 2787, 2997, 3117, 3527, 3597, 3716, 3735, 4943, 4969; J., 1463, 1826, 1829, 1919, 2402, 3015, 3944, 4609, 4814, 5133, 7043, 7558, 7591, 8586, 8799, 9363, 10707. An indicative is found in A. C., 1896. After *enans que* subjunctive examples are: A. C., 1154, 4165, 6984, 8229, 9397; F., 4024; J., 1586, 1887, 1911, 2166, 2401, 2946, 3397, 5619, 5709, 5770, 6072, 6853, 7630, 10469, 10700, 10938. Indicative examples are: F., 4322; J., 907. After *abans que* the subjunctive occurs in: A. C., 385, 393, 1297, 3956, 4187, 6145, 6611, 7388, 8769, 9363; F., 295, 1202, 1509, 2132, 2236, 2306, 2790, 3929, 3971, 4155, 4431, 4622, 4691, 4737, 5389, 5495, 6302, 6523, 6580, 6636, 6874, 7036, 7255, 7297, 7887. After *antremans* the subjunctive occurs in F., 5171. After *mentre que* the subjunctive examples are: A. C., 6960, 9386, 9549; F., 1790. The indicatives are: A. C., 6647, 7188, 8447; F., 6869, 7560; J., 5609, 5610. After *tro que* and *entro que* the subjunctive examples are: A. C., 2019, 2180, 2968, 3715, 3770, 3834, 4192, 4249, 4770, 4813, 4819, 5015, 5041, 5556, 5700, 5759, 6078, 6618, 6796, 6979, 7121, 7881, 7894, 8312, 8818, 8819, 8835, 9024, 9026, 9053; F., 2217, 4086, 4291, 5236, 5881; J., 334, 572, 637, 1227, 1230, 1246, 1311, 1590, 1720, 2293, 2871, 3243, 3297, 3606, 3663, 3910, 4138, 4286, 4340, 5438, 4559, 4577, 4772, 4790, 4827, 4894, 5077, 5149,

¹⁸ An indicative example is J., 456.

5176, 5353, 5361, 5838, 5955, 6161, 6187, 6278, 6386, 6620, 6812, 7080, 7756, 7941, 8734, 9026. A. C., 7091, 7957, 8043; F., 2242, 2772, 2940, 3172, 5327, 6181, 7300, 7823; J., 148, 619, 3234, 4575, 5240, 8168. Indicative examples are: A. C., 56, 2696, 2749, 3722, 3812, 4117, 4352, 4483, 4494, 4719, 4721, 4724, 5069, 5504, 5822, 6337, 7126, 7472, 8105, 8547, 8625, 8869, 8908; F., 686, 2558, 4498, 7632; J., 1345, 1669, 2182, 2960, 4025, 4328, 4386, 4423, 4451, 4488, 4648, 4906, 4925. A. C., 20, 4759; F., 1875, 1877, 2991, 4332; J., 1674, 7243.

The subjunctive is used in adverbial clauses after conjunctions of purpose and result as follows: After *que*: A. C., 17, 926, 1374, 1976, 2487, 2498, 2922, 3009, 3113, 3260, 3571, 3643, 3975, 4021, 4072, 4178, 4196, 4376, 4435, 4953, 5082, 5230, 5258, 5317, 5466, 5615, 5625, 5753, 5765, 5771, 6192, 6229, 6323, 6477, 6766, 6842, 7001, 7097, 7319, 7376, 7395, 7470, 8135, 8223, 8732, 9084, 9298, 9409, 9426, 9443, 9544, 9576; F., 167, 287, 397, 465, 865, 1014, 1161, 1290, 1313, 1524, 1843, 2067, 2469, 2844, 2855, 2891, 2945, 3513, 3573, 3662, 4096, 4150, 4154, 4243, 4285, 4941, 4992, 5027, 5139, 5206, 5325, 5411, 5476, 6896; J., 666, 1434, 2413, 2424, 2545, 2654, 3625, 4988, 6186, 6364, 6983, 9024, 10882, 10951. After *per que*: A. C., 398, 4132, 5012, 5948, 6211, 7880, 8837, 9043. After *per so que*: A. C., 84, 7431, 8249, 8534; F., 147, 1139, 1769, 2494, 2596, 3165, 3564, 3734, 3937, 4506, 6876; J., 1642, 3042, 4960, 6427, 7190, 8784. After *per tal que*: A. C., 1307; F., 22, 1067, 3461, 3816, 7064; J., 10890. After *de guiza que*: A. C., 2921, 9029. After *si que*: subjunctive, J., 4716; indicative, A. C., 3481.

The subjunctive is used in adverbial clauses after *com* and *consi*. Examples are: A. C., 1113, 4824, 5772, 6229, 6543, 6566, 6725, 7067, 7834, 9055, 9078; F., 342, 1279, 2257, 2274, 2580, 4220, 5104, 5105, 5125, 5133, 5149, 5319, 5331, 6725, 7820, 7961; J., 1763, 2399, 2889, 3965, 3974, 6560, 9219.

In adverbial clauses of condition and concession the subjunctive is used after *ab que*, *ab sol que*, *sol que*, *per tal que*, *per ço que*. A. C., 1729; J., 8176; A. C., 3458, 4935; F., 2000, 5084, 6314, 6413; J., 4015, 8077; A. C., 4338; F., 4054, 4925, 5183, 5398, 7375, 7387; J., 319, 2007, 3280, 3661, 5522, 6108, 6816, 7023, 7321, 7526, 7925, 10305, 10565; F., 7256; J., 36, 10538; J., 450, 1624.

In adverbial clauses after indefinites the subjunctive is used. Examples with *on* and *on que* are: A. C., 1417, 3623, 3689; F., 332, 1725, 1820; J., 1758, 2529, 4501, 4642, 5794, 7211, 7729, 7934, 8291. With *don*: F., 1779, 1972, 3617, 5523; J., 175, 4185. With *ora que*: A. C., 5773; F., 1758, 1982, 2041, 2308, 6664, 7543, 7568, 7809; J., 6552. With *cum que* (however) A. C., 3150, 8838. With *consi* (however) F., 333, 3871, 3181, 6482.

I. Findings on Substantive Clauses

1) The subjunctive is used in Provençal narrative poetry after verbs of ordering, wishing, and the like.

After the following verbs I have found no exception to this rule: *mandar*, *comandar*, *sonar*, *castiar*, *escribar*, *dire*, *establir*, *trametre*, *somonir*, *enseinar*, *prometre*, *jurar*, *prendre cosselh*, *dar cosselh*, *conselhar*, *consentir*, *entendre*, *laiszar*, *sufrir*, *defendre*, *vedar*, *orar*, *demandar*, *desirar*, *querir*, *enquerir*, *pregar*, *convenir*, *faire*.

After *voler* there is one clear case of the indicative, F., 4886, which following a preterite main verb denotes actual past action; and there are 94 subjunctive examples. These findings affirm the statement of Meyer-Lübke with regard to all the Romance languages:¹⁴ "Les propositions-régimes se mettent au subjonctif d'abord après les verbes qui expriment une volonté ou un désir," and of Schultz-Gora concerning Provençal usage:¹⁵ "Der modus ist, . . . nach 'wollen', 'bitten', 'fordern', . . . 'erlauben', 'versprechen', der Konjunktiv." 2) The subjunctive is regularly used after verbs of fearing, hoping, and doubting.

The verbs in my examples which come under this rule are: *aver paor, temer, esser desesperatz, gardar, doptar, esser doptans*.

My findings accord with the statements of the grammarians and with those of Mr. C. K. Moore¹⁶ on this group of verbs.

3) The usage after verbs of thinking, believing, and knowing varies, according to my findings, with the specific verbs.

a) There is a divided usage after *pensar*, depending on the shade of meaning.

After this verb, out of 19 examples, 16 are subjunctive, 3 indicative. Of the subjunctive, 10 are negative, 2 are questions, and 1 is in a conditional clause. In all of these the subjunctive is to be expected. Of the affirmative expressions, then, following *pensar* 3 verbs are in the subjunctive, 3 in the indicative. This divided usage is suggested by Schultz-Gora:¹⁷ "Nach 'glauben' steht der Indikativ und der Konjunktiv, doch nur der Konjunktiv nach 'sagen' und 'glauben', wenn der Hauptsatz verneint ist." He does not, however, state any reasons for the choice between indicative and subjunctive in affirmative statements after such verbs. I find that in each case where the subjunctive is used—F., 1778, 1920, 2771—the verb *pensar* has the meaning of *decide* or *determine*; it is on the borderland between contemplation and volition and combines the two qualities.

b) *Cuidar* usually takes the subjunctive.

After *cuidar* 32 of the affirmative examples are in the subjunctive and only 4 are in the indicative. Three of these are in the future, expressing, therefore, an idea of uncertainty. With this verb there seems to be a conventional use of the subjunctive mood in the verb which follows it even when the action of the latter is definite and when it would be translated into the indicative in modern French, for instance.¹⁸ There is only 1 example of definite action expressed by the indicative after *cuidar*, A. C., 2696.

c) After *creire* subjunctive and indicative are used, depending on the meaning of the main verb.

After *creire* I find 8 affirmative sentences in the subjunctive and 4 in the indicative. The choice between the two moods here seems to depend on the meaning of *creire*. In my findings, the subjunctive follows when the meaning is that of *suppose*.

¹⁴ Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire*, Vol. III, p. 743, Sec. 667.

¹⁵ Schultz-Gora, *Elementarbuch*, p. 129, Sec. 191.

¹⁶ *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXIII, no. 2, p. 49.

¹⁷ *Elementarbuch*, p. 129, Sec. 191.

¹⁸ Cf. A. C., Vol. II, p. 54, lines 1007,8; p. 79, lines 1434,5; F., 1st edition, p. 345.

d) *Saber* takes the indicative in affirmative statements.

After *saber* I have found only one example of subjunctive in an affirmative sentence. This is in *Jaufre*, 788, and is with *saber si*. The conclusion seems to be that, so far as these examples are concerned, the indicative follows *saber* in affirmative statements.¹⁹

e) *Albirar* takes subjunctive and indicative.

After *albirar* there are 3 subjunctive and 1 indicative in my examples. Of the subjunctives, 2 are negative. We find, then, 1 indicative and 1 subjunctive after this verb when the statement is affirmative. The indicative has a past future meaning.

4) The subjunctive is usual after impersonals.

After impersonals there are found 107 subjunctives and 13 indicatives.²⁰ These seem to follow the general principle of certainty expressed by the indicative, uncertainty by the subjunctive.²¹

The Omission of *Que*

In my examples *que* is more often omitted in substantive clauses after *voler* and *cuidar* than after other verbs.²² I find 14 omissions after *voler* out of 96 examples, 13 after *cuidar* out of 76. After impersonals there are 16 omissions in 120 examples. Two of these occur in double constructions — one clause with, and one without *que* — A. C., 6987 and F., 3427. One clause of this list is introduced by *car*²³ — A. C. 4336.

II. Findings on Adjective Clauses

In 227 adjective clauses I find the subjunctive used regularly under the following circumstances: 1) when the principal clause is negative; 2) when purpose regarding the antecedent is implied; 3) when the antecedent is indefinite.

The examples seem to show that in Provençal the subjunctive is used after superlatives. I find 18 subjunctives and 1 indicative, the latter occurring in *Jaufre*, 456, where the verb is in the future tense.

After indefinites²⁴ 2 cases of the indicative appear in adjective clauses — J., 1605 and 6172. There are, however, 23 cases of the subjunctive in the same construction. In both of the indicatives the tense is future, and the conclusion would probably be that the subjunctive is usual, but is sometimes replaced by a future indicative.

III. Findings on Adverbial Clauses

1) In expressions of time —

a) When the meaning is uncertain or future, the subjunctive or the future indicative may be used. A present indicative sometimes implies future meaning.

b) When the meaning is certain, the verb of the time clause is in the indicative, present or past.

The choice of these forms differs, however, with the various conjunctions. After *can*²⁵ I find 32 examples of future indicative and 1 present sub-

¹⁹ Cf. Schultz-Gora, *Elementarbuch*, p. 129, Sec. 191.

²⁰ Cf. Moore, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIII, no. 2, p. 50.

²¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire*, III, p. 361, Sec. 666.

²² The omission of *que* is discussed by Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire*, III, p. 399, Sec. 335.

²³ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire*, III, p. 642, Sec. 666.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, III, Sec. 630 and 672.

junctive. There is 1 example of present indicative with possible future meaning — F., 560. This construction quite evidently takes the indicative.

After *aitan can* the usage is divided about equally, 3 subjunctives and 5 indicatives, 4 future and 1 present, having been listed.

After *ans que*, *enans que*, *abans que*, and *antremans que* there is an evident preference for the subjunctive since the figures show: *ans que* — 54 subjunctives and 1 indicative with past future meaning, A. C., 1896; with *enans que* — 22 subjunctives and 2 indicatives, 1 expressing past fact (F., 4322), and 1 past future (J., 908); *abans que* — 35 subjunctives and no indicatives; *antremans que* — 1 subjunctive and no indicative.

When the indicative is used with these conjunctions, it expresses either past fact or past future.

After *mentre que* I find 7 indicatives, 6 of which are present and 1 imperfect,²⁶ with 4 subjunctives. In all the subjunctive examples future time is implied.

After *aitan que* there is one example given in the first edition of *Flamenca* as subjunctive and changed in the second to indicative. It is *Mais aitant tost con fos issitz Flamenca dis* (5372). In the second edition the reading is *fo issitz* (5369) with the note 'fo ms. fos'. The editor evidently felt the indicative to be the usage here, for he noted the manuscript reading to be subjunctive but changed it.

After *tro que* and *entro que* 98 subjunctive examples and 49 indicatives²⁷ are listed, 8 of which are in the future tense. The close relationship between the future indicative and the present subjunctive is evidenced in the use of both forms in the same construction — A. C., 7472. The 41 examples of present and past indicative denote actual fact. In only one of the examples with these conjunctions is *que* used instead of *entro que* (A. C., 4814), but in many instances *tro* is used in place of the whole expression — e. g., A. C., 2019.

To sum up the findings concerning the mood of time expressions following the various conjunctions:

- a) The indicative is usual after *can* and *aitan que*.
- b) The subjunctive is preferred after *ans que*, *enans que*, *abans que*, and *antremans que*.
- c) After *tro que*, *entro que*, *aitan que*, *mentre que* the subjunctive and indicative are both used—

After *tro que* and *entro que* with decided preference for the subjunctive in uncertain meaning.

After *aitan can* with no preference.

After *mentre que* with preference for the indicative, though for future meaning the subjunctive is used.

These findings with regard to time clauses are interesting as compared with those of Mr. C. K. Moore²⁸ in which from a study of the work of six Provençal

²⁵ See *Lays d'Amors*, I, 24; II, 248 for use of subjunctive, and *Donatz Proensals*, 16, 26, and *Lays* II, 246 for future indicative. — Examples: *Cum eu aia amat*, *Donatz*, 16; *Cum eu aurai amat*, *ibid.*

²⁶ Cf. Diez, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, 2 Ausgabe, Vol. III, p. 33, Sec. 2.

²⁷ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire*, III, p. 747, Sec. 670.

²⁸ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIII, no. 2, p. 51.

lyric poets he reports 32 examples of time with uncertainty of which 31 are in the subjunctive mood.

2) In clauses of purpose and result the subjunctive follows *que* and its various combinations. The only exception to this in 138 examples is an indicative after *si que* in line 3481, of A. C. In this line and the single subjunctive after *si que* in *Jaufre*, 4716, a distinction between indicative for result and subjunctive for purpose, like that which is found in modern French, may be suggested.²⁹ No such distinction seems to hold with the other *que* conjunctions; and it may be, of course, that the one indicative use is exceptional. After *com* and *consi* 34 subjunctive examples appear. The use of the subjunctive in clauses of purpose and result seems evident.

3) Conjunctions of concession and condition — *ab que*, *ab sol que*, *sol que*, *per tal que*, *per ço que* — are followed by the subjunctive in all my examples.³⁰

4) A general use of the subjunctive in adverbial clauses after indefinites is evidenced by the 14 examples listed.³¹ In the examples of adjective clauses after indefinites, however, the indicative is occasionally used.

In general these findings agree with those of others who have studied Provençal syntax, but they are somewhat more detailed. The chief differences are in connection with substantive clauses after certain verbs, and with time clauses. If the study has any bearing on general Provençal usage, it would seem to show a greater possibility of choice between subjunctive and indicative than has usually been expressed. In its use of the subjunctive Provençal resembles, of course, French and Spanish and seems to stand in a middle position between them. So complicated, however, is the situation in Provençal that generalizations can hardly be as satisfactory as the more particular results of this study which have already been stated.

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PIERO MARONCELLI IN PHILADELPHIA

WAS Piero Maroncelli—companion of Silvio Pellico in the Spielberg prison, hero of *Le mie prigioni* and author of *Le Addizioni*¹ to that widely read book,—ever in Philadelphia? Released from the Spielberg prison in August, 1830, Maroncelli was not allowed by the authorities to stay in Italy, and left for Paris, where he arrived with his brother, also an exile, in

²⁹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire*, III, p. 747, Sec. 671.

³⁰ Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, III, p. 722, Sec. 647.

³¹ Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, III, p. 750, Sec. 673.

¹ These *Addizioni* appeared first as "notes historiques" in the first French edition of *Le mie prigioni* translated by Antoine de Latour, Paris, H. Fournier Jeune, 1833. A little later in the same year they appeared in a more complete form in an Italian edition of *Le mie prigioni* published in Paris by Baudry. They were published in England in Italian in 1834 (Londra, Dai torchi di Ode et Wodon). The American edition appeared in 1836 (Cambridge, Mass.) as a second volume to *Le mie prigioni* translated by Mrs. Andrews Norton. There have been many subsequent editions.

February, 1831.² On Aug. 24, 1833, Maroncelli sailed from Le Havre for New York with his wife, the former Augusta Schneider, whom he had married shortly before in Paris.³ The Maroncellis came to the United States as members of an Italian opera company for which a new opera house had been constructed in New York. Sga. Maroncelli was one of the leading contraltos of the troupe, while her husband directed the chorus. The first performance given by the company in New York was on the evening of Nov. 18, 1833, and the last performance of the regular season was in February, 1834; but to the original forty performances were added twenty more, so that the season really ended on the evening of April 5, 1834. From New York the company went to Philadelphia for 15 performances.⁴ If Maroncelli and his wife accompanied the Italian opera to Philadelphia, their visit must, therefore, have occurred after April 5, 1834.

From the perusal of some unpublished letters exchanged between Andrews Norton, father of Charles Eliot Norton, and Maroncelli, I had every reason to believe that the latter, discouraged by the financial mismanagement of the opera company in which he lost a considerable sum of money, did not accompany the troupe to Philadelphia.⁵ Sister M. Jerome Keeler, however, in calling attention to a reference to "Piero Monicelli" in the *Recollections of the Life of John Binns*, written by himself (Phila., 1854), has led me to investigate further the matter. As Sister M. Jerome notes, there are several inaccuracies in this reference.⁶ Binns writes that this "Piero Monicelli", who visited him in Philadelphia in 1824-25, was an "Italian patriot, the friend of Silvio Pellico, with whom he had been imprisoned for ten years, treated with great severity, and subjected to painful privations by the tyrants of Italy". Therefore, this must have been Piero Maroncelli and not "Monicelli". Maroncelli, however, could not have visited Binns in 1824-25, since at that time he was in the Spielberg prison from which he was not released until August, 1830. He had been imprisoned a few days before Pellico in October, 1820.⁷ Moreover, as Sister M. Jerome remarks, Binns must have confused his vision when he wrote concerning Maroncelli: "His lower limbs were wrapped in flannel when he came to visit me, insomuch that he had great difficulty in descending from his carriage and entering my office." Everyone who has read *Le mie prigioni* remembers Pellico's account of the amputation of Maroncelli's left leg by the prison barber. Binns' reading, like his sight, must also have been limited, for had he ever read *Le mie prigioni*, he could not easily have forgotten that vivid and touching description. And he might well have read this popular little book in one of its many translations which had appeared in the United States by 1854.⁸

² Cf. O. Fabretti, "Paolina Andryane e Piero Maroncelli", in *Rivista d'Italia*, Luglio, 1914.

³ For an account of Maroncelli's life in the United States, cf. A. H. Lograsso, "Piero Maroncelli in America", in *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento Italiano*, Fasc. 4, Anno 1928.

⁴ The history of Italian opera in this country is to be found in H. E. Krehbiel, *Chapters of Opera*, New York, 1908.

⁵ Cf. my article cited above.

⁶ Cf. "A note on Silvio Pellico, in PQ, July, 1930.

⁷ Cf. *Le mie prigioni*, Cap. I, and the *Addizioni*.

⁸ The first English translation — a very inadequate one — appeared in this country simultaneously with Maroncelli's arrival in 1833. It was by Thomas Roscoe and was published in London in 1833. Literary circles and American periodicals manifested a great deal of in-

So inaccurate is Binns' account that one may indeed doubt whether the visit was ever made. A search in the Philadelphia newspapers of April and May, 1834, reveals the following facts:⁹ Italian opera made its bow to a brilliant assembly of Philadelphia society at the Chestnut St. Theatre on Tuesday evening, April 8, 1834. The operas sung during the first ten regular performances were: *Gli Arabi nelle Gallie*,¹⁰ *La Cenerentola*, *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, *Il Matrimonio Segreto*, *La Donna del Lago*, and *Matilda di Sbabran*. Among the principal singers listed in the advertisements for Rossini's *Matilda di Sbabran* appears the name of Sga. Maroncelli.¹¹ Five performances were added to the original ten, given, however, in the Walnut St. Theatre, since the Chestnut St. Theatre had been previously leased to a theatrical company. The new series which began on Monday evening, May 5, was inaugurated by Rossini's *La Gazza Ladra*, in which "Signorina (*sic*) Maroncelli" had a leading role. This opera was repeated on May 12, and May 16 with Sga. Maroncelli, again, one of the prima donnas.¹² On Wednesday, May 14, *Matilda di Sbabran* was repeated, and, once more, Sga. Maroncelli was one of the principal singers.¹³

Besides these 15 performances, there were some additional operas and concerts given for the benefit of various members of the opera company. The whole Italian troupe gave a grand musical festival at the Musical Fund Hall on Thursday, April 17, 1834, and on the program of that concert we find the name of Sga. Maroncelli, who sang in German from *Der Freischütz*, "Wie nahte mir der Schlummer."¹⁴ The entire chorus of the company participated in this program; and, since Maroncelli was its director in New York, one should like to assume that he performed the same function in Philadelphia, although no mention of his name has been found in the newspapers through which I have searched. In the New York press, on the other hand, he was frequently spoken of as being of importance in the direction of the company, and especially of the chorus.¹⁵ On Tuesday evening, April 29, the Italian company gave a sacred oratorio, Mozart's *Requiem*, in St. John's Church in 13th Street. We read in the *U. S. Gazette* for May 1, Thursday morning, that "a numerous

terest in this and in subsequent editions, especially in the American edition of *Le mie prigioni*, translated by Mrs. Norton, and in Maroncelli's *Addizioni*, published in Cambridge in 1836.

⁹ I searched through the following most representative Philadelphia newspapers of the period: the *American Daily Advertiser* (*Poulson's Daily Advertiser*); the *U. S. Gazette*; and the *Saturday Courier*. Only a brief notice of the Italian opera appears in the *History of the Philadelphia Stage* by Charles Durang, II, Ch. 34.

¹⁰ Interesting as an indication of the literary taste of the period is the comment on this opera found in the *New York Mirror*: "The Arabs in Gaul is the title of an opera lately produced, and received with much favour by the public. The story, and we are one of those who think a plot of importance even in an opera, is taken directly from the *Renégat* of the celebrated Vicomte d'Arlincourt, a splendid specimen of the French poetic prose, the perusal of which, in our days of novel reading and sentimentalism, we distinctly remember, affected us to tears, and which we strongly recommend to our readers as calculated to awaken all the tender sympathies of the heart, and improve the morals by quickening the sensibility. We would mention the *Udine* of De la Motte Fouqué, and the *Martyrs* of Chateaubriand, as works of a similar cast".

¹¹ *U. S. Gazette*, Monday, April 28, 1834, p. 3, col. 3.

¹² *Idem*, May 5, 12, 16, 1834.

¹³ *Idem*, Tues., May 13, 1834.

¹⁴ *Idem*, Thurs., Apr. 17, 1834.

¹⁵ Cf. my article cited above.

audience listened with satisfaction and delight" to the performance of the oratorio; and the editor waxes eloquent over "the powers of the company for the execution of that superior piece of church music", which, in his opinion, "were far superior to those of any that have undertaken the performance of the Requiem". The names of the artists are not given, but it may safely be assumed that both Maroncelli, in his capacity as director of the chorus, and his wife, as contralto, took part in the performance. Sga. Maroncelli, especially, must have had a leading role in this oratorio because she so excelled in church music that later, probably in November, she was invited to sing in Grace Church in New York.¹⁶ There was at least one more concert in Philadelphia in which Sga. Maroncelli sang,¹⁷ on the evening of May 8; and she may have taken part in the last "grand vocal and instrumental concert"¹⁸ given by the whole company on the evening of May 20. Presumably, the troupe returned to New York shortly after that date. At any rate, we know that Maroncelli was writing to Prof. Andrews Norton of Cambridge from New York on July 2, 1834, expressing his desire of going to Cambridge in order to return personally the precious manuscript of Mrs. Norton's translation of *Le mie prigioni*.¹⁹ In August and September of the same year the Maroncellis were in Boston and Cambridge, going there from New York by way of New Haven and Hartford, Conn., where they gave a series of concerts. They returned to New York probably in October. They were surely back there by Dec. 1, for on that date Maroncelli wrote to Prof. Norton from New York.²⁰

Since the contemporary press reveals that Sga. Maroncelli sang in the Italian opera in Philadelphia in April and May of 1834, it is safe to assume that her husband was in that city at the same time, and that he visited Binns in that year. It is natural that Maroncelli should have visited the fiery alderman and judge, for Binns, too, zealous in his efforts for Irish independence, had been a political prisoner before coming to the United States in 1801. Also, they had a mutual friend — General Lafayette.²¹ Can the "1824-1825", then, in Binns' account be merely a misprint for "1834-35"? Binns' memory may easily have not been clear on whether Maroncelli visited him in 1834 or 1835, but it is difficult to believe that he could have made a mistake of ten years.

¹⁶ *Idem*. That Grace Church was noted for its musical service we know from H. E. Krehbiel, who in his *Chapters of Opera* (pp. 9-10), quoting an article written by White, writes "Grace Church may well be pardoned for pride in a musical service upon the early years of which fell such a crown of glory, and which has since been guided by taste not always unworthy of such a beginning." Among its famous singers Grace Church counted the great Malibran, whose father, Manuel del Popolo Vincente Garcia, had introduced Italian opera in New York in 1825. It was a mark of distinction, therefore, that Sga. Maroncelli should have been invited to sing in the choir of that church.

¹⁷ According to the program which appeared in the *U. S. Gazette*, May 8, 1834, she sang an "Aria of Mercadante".

¹⁸ Advertisement in the *U. S. Gazette*, May 19, 1834.

¹⁹ Letter in possession of Miss Margaret Norton of Cambridge. The letters mentioned here, together with many others, were first published in my article cited above.

²⁰ This letter is really dated "1^o novembre 1834" which, considering its contents, must be a *lapsus calami* for "1^o dicembre 1834".

²¹ For Binns' life see his book of reminiscences cited above. For Maroncelli's friendship with Lafayette see his *Addizioni*. In 1834 John Binns lived at 38 S. 6th bl. Chestnut St. (cf. the Philadelphia Directory for 1834).

The amazing fact about Maroncelli's sojourn in Philadelphia is the way the public press completely ignored him. In the New York and Boston newspapers there was a considerable amount of space devoted to the welcome of the hero of *Le mie prigioni*. Whole sections of that book were quoted as proof of what Maroncelli had suffered in prison; and these quotations were frequently accompanied by invectives against the tyrannical Austrian government, so that H. T. Tuckerman could well write of Pellico:²² "He became a representative man. Through his revelations, sympathy for the political martyrs of his country was universally awakened; the dark deeds of Austria came to light, and the names of her noble victims were, thenceforth, passports to the hospitality of every land where they found refuge." Can it be that the Philadelphians were a little less up-to-date in their reading than the citizens of New York and Boston, and had not yet read *Le mie prigioni* either in the original or in Roscoe's translation which had appeared in New York in 1833? Even before Maroncelli came to this country, his name had frequently been seen by those who were acquainted with the reviews of *Le mie prigioni* and of Maroncelli's *Addizioni* (Paris ed. of 1833) that had been published in British periodicals.²³ Often these reviews were reprinted in this country. As early as July, 1833, the *Edinburgh Review*²⁴ of Boston reviewed the Italian and French editions of *Le mie prigioni* and supplied interesting details concerning Maroncelli. In the same month the *Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art*,²⁵ published in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, reprinted from the *Foreign Quarterly Review*²⁶ a lengthy article on the first edition (Torino, 1832) of Pellico's work. Besides bestowing great praise on "this little work . . . calculated to enlist the sympathies of mankind against Austria", the article included a long summary of the book in which Maroncelli's name appeared frequently. The review was repeated in *Norton's Select Journal*²⁷ for October, 1833. After the appearance of Roscoe's translation in New York, even more attention was given to *Le mie prigioni*, of which a long review appeared in the *American Quarterly Review*²⁸ for September, 1833. This review was interspersed with many references to Maroncelli, and quoted a translation of Pellico's estimate of

²² *Essays, Biographical and Critical; or, Studies of Character*, Boston, 1837.

²³ In reading British periodicals of 1833, it is interesting to note how soon Pellico's work became known in England, and how soon it was acclaimed in literary circles. It often called forth invectives against Austria. One is not surprised, therefore, that Metternich hated the book and tried to deny its veracity, for it did immeasurable harm to Austria, both in England and in America. It is impossible to list here all the reviews of the *Prigioni* and the *Addizioni*. The most important ones were contained in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (Vol. 11, April, 1833; Vol. 12, Oct., 1833); *The Monthly Review* (Vol. 131, April-August, 1833); *The Athenaeum* (March, 1833 ff.); etc.

²⁴ Vol. 37, pp. 484 ff. Published by Lilly, Wait, Colman, and Holden, Boston.

²⁵ Vol. 23, pp. 71 ff. Published by E. Littel and T. Holden, Philadelphia; G. & C. & H. Carvill, New York; Kane and Co., Boston.

²⁶ Vol. 11, April, 1833, pp. 473-502. There were additional articles on Pellico and on Maroncelli in the subsequent numbers, especially in Vol. 12, Oct., 1833, pp. 398 ff. This, too, was reprinted in *Norton's Select Journal*.

²⁷ Vol. II, Oct., 1833. Published by Charles Bowen, Boston; edited by Andrews Norton and Charles Folsom (the volumes in the Harvard College Library contain this information in Andrews Norton's handwriting).

²⁸ Vol. 14, pp. 101-126.

his friend's character.²⁹ Finally, in *Norton's Select Journal*³⁰ for April, 1834, there appeared a complete account of Maroncelli's "Additions to Pellico's *Prigioni*", reprinted from the *Athenaeum*³¹ and containing many references to the author. This last periodical was available in Philadelphia the very day of Maroncelli's arrival there, for I found it advertised as being on sale at the bookstore of Henry Perkins, 159 Chestnut St., in the *American Daily Advertiser* for Tuesday morning, April 8, 1834. The advertisement included a table of contents with mention of both Pellico and Maroncelli. It would be strange, indeed, that there were no Philadelphians interested in the presence in their midst of so well known and so widely heralded a character. In New York Catharine Maria Sedgwick, the authoress, had been among the first to welcome Maroncelli. Later, Poe had included him among his literati, and, in Boston, he had found many friends besides the Norton family. It is quite likely that during his brief stay in Cambridge he became acquainted with Longfellow, for Miss Alice Longfellow, only a few years before her death, showed me her father's copy of the *Addizioni* with the author's autograph. The indifference with which, apparently, Philadelphia literary circles received Maroncelli's visit becomes more and more perplexing. Can it be that the Philadelphians were less cosmopolitan in their literary and political interests than the citizens of New York and Boston?

Another flimsy bit of corroborating evidence that Maroncelli was really in Philadelphia with the Italian opera in 1834 is to be found in an unpublished letter now in the British Museum where I had the pleasure of consulting it. The letter is dated from New York, April 5, 1837, and is addressed to "Signore G. Paggi, (professore di canto), Philadelphia, Pen." in care of "Mr. George Willig, Music Hous(*sic*) Chestnut St." It deals mostly with financial matters and reads as follows:

"Carissimo Paggi

"Ò ricevuto il vostro caro foglio ove rilevo che non vi è pervenuta una lettera mia che pure è stata scritta ed impostata nel tempo stesso che quella di Mancinelli(?).³²

"— Ciò spiegava, come essendo stata invenduta certa vostra musica, che vi ò rimandata per mezzo di Mr. Willig, il nostro conto restava (or *stava*) liquidato a \$4 e 60 (or 66). (Salvo errore nel sconto).

"Mi spiace che non abbiate voluto accettare questa somma da Mancinelli, perocchè in ogni caso dovevate ben sapere che avendo a fare con un galantuomo, ciò non avrebbe mai pregiudicato a' vostri ulteriori diritti, data che vi fosse come da parte mia. Debbo dunque considerare il vostro operato come un *atto ostile*, a meno che non ne abbiate capito l'importanza; ed allora, sono disposto a perdonarvelo.

"L'altro giorno ò ricevuto da Bagioli un ordine su voi di cento scudi, in pagamento. L'ò portato alla banca, curando che vi sia presentato dopo che ne avrete già ricevuto avviso di Bagioli stesso. Vi supplico di onorare il vostro nome, quello di Bagioli ed il mio, e quello del Cancelliere Mac Coun(?), versando

²⁹ *Le mie prigioni*, Cap. XCIV.

³⁰ Pp. 167 ff.

³¹ March, 1833, pp. 691 ff. Article no. 312. Also pp. 807 ff.

³² Where the mss. is not clear I have used interrogation points.

in tempo opportuno questa somma. Sarebbemi di dolore sommo, non il ritardo del pagamento, ma la cattiva figura di noi italiani, in blocco, — se vi faceste venire addosso un protesto.

"Evitate questo funesto evento, ve ne prego, a credetemi e comandetemi

"Vostro, Sinceramente

Piero Maroncelli

66 Lespinard St."

We can infer from the mention of Willig and the commission which he performed for Maroncelli that the Italian exile was well known to him. Maroncelli probably made his acquaintance in 1834, for in the newspaper advertisements of the Italian opera in Philadelphia for April and May, 1834, I have found that often the tickets were sold at "Mr. Willig's Music Store, 171 Chestnut St."; and it is not unlikely that, since Maroncelli was financially interested in the Italian opera company, he may have supervised the sale of the tickets. This letter, which is interesting mainly for the further favorable light it throws upon Maroncelli's character, may, therefore, offer us a bit of evidence in support of his visit to Philadelphia in 1834 with the Italian opera company, in which his wife sang and he had a financial interest, and whose chorus he directed.

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GIOBERTI AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINE

THE skeptic consequences of sensualist philosophy, writes Prof. Anzilotti in his masterly work on Gioberti,¹ raised the purely metaphysical question of the value of our knowledge. To minimize the importance of reason meant to turn to faith, *ergo* to the church, and to disclaim democracy: to exalt, on the contrary, the power of faith, meant to admit the existence of the divine element in man, and to believe in civilization and the rights of the common people. These are essentially the two contrasting attitudes to be found in the speculative field and in the theories of traditionalists and democrats during the years in which the liberal movement took its rise.

Gioberti's thought is shaped by this conflict of ideas, of which he realizes all the scientific and practical import.

The metaphysical problem of human knowledge stands out in bold relief against the background of the Restauration era. In consequence of the close concatenation of the spiritual world with the world of concrete relationships, the settlement of the political, religious and social question depends on the solution of the problem of knowledge. Gioberti is keenly aware of this concatenation. The old duel between religion and philosophy, faith and reason, harking back to the disputes of scholasticism, assumes in him a new, intense, insistent, dramatic quality. The struggle becomes full of exciting episodes, unthought-of pauses, provisional solutions, and fresh starts and *élans*, of poignant doubts and transitory pacifications. A struggle loyal to the end and overcharged with sincere suffering, during which was born, in Gioberti, the purest spiritual flower: the conception of faith as activism, as dialectic quiet of the mind; faith as a prize placed on the summit—to be achieved only by

¹ Antonio Anzilotti, *Gioberti*, Vallecchi, Florence, p. 10.

the strong. The strong, if they sometimes fall and pay their tribute to human frailty, rise soon and resume their way with a bolder spirit; they cannot remain in the unnatural and painful state of uncertainty, and, after a noble fight, triumph, carrying off the prize of faith, because before victory they were convinced of the possibility of its achievement.²

In the light of the orthodox certainty conquered at last, the stages of the road travelled appear merely like preparations; doubt seems like the dialectic novitiate of the ideal writer; the torment of affirmations and denials, like the battle, and polemics, of the intellect with itself, a stubborn combat, noble and necessary. Discoveries and, therefore, scientific progress cannot take place unless uncertainty precedes certainty, unless the known is not first concealed and unrecognized.³

Gioberti offers the spectacle of a mind searching itself, recognizing the inevitability of conflict between hostile tendencies, seeking for the formula comprising all reality in its synthesis. A mind abhorring heterodoxy and utilizing doubts; fully conscious that its thought is original because it is the product of historical and racial factors; achieving equilibrium between ever unstable and restless directions. What trials bristling with dangers to be overcome, with ambushes to avoid, thick with episodic exaltations and with fleeting discouragements! Many obstacles must be removed, the secret of harmonization is to be discovered; many strategic points must be attacked, and overcome, before reaching the final certainty. Gioberti must use his keenest prudence in order to conciliate the visual sharpness of speculation with the shrewd sagacity of practice. Giobertian speculation exemplifies the general process of the philosophic mind in the dynamics of its history.

At first Gioberti's philosophy is merely religious; then distinct from but still subservient to theology; afterwards entirely independent of theology; then opposing it in open rationalistic challenge; and finally returning to the orthodoxy of its beginnings, and although master of itself and free, pays homage to religion.⁴

In this final stage of its development the task of philosophy is clearly outlined. To know what is the intimate structure of man and his destiny on earth; the conditions, the epochs, the vicissitudes of universal existence; to investigate beginnings, progress, social institutions, the goal of human civilization; to develop the concepts enclosed in the worlds of nature, history and art; to rise from the finite to the several modes of the infinite; to soar to the absolute, there to contemplate the identity of real and ideal; to study the relations between the finite and the infinite, the universe and God; to embrace, as far as possible, in every kind of research, the conflicting elements, both apparent and real, that are to be found there, to examine their character, to observe their strife, and to cause their reconciliation and final harmony; to proceed in all these investigations not by analysis without synthesis, not with disconnected reasonings, with commonplaces, nor under the guidance of an outworn empiricism, but with the strictest logic, making the desired solution spring from

² Gioberti, *Prolegomeni*, edited by Gustavo Balsamo Crivelli, Unione Tipografica Editrice, Turin, p. 126.

³ *Prolegomeni*, *ibid.*

⁴ *Proleg.*, p. 199.

a single and organic principle, namely from the dogma of creation expressed by the "Formola ideale". This is the task of philosophy.⁵

In this final stage of Giobertian speculation, the boundaries between philosophy and theology are clearly marked. The philosopher, theologizing, will stop at the cognitive relationships with the unknowable, and will not attempt to penetrate directly into the reasons for its existence. He will act toward the Revelation as he acts toward mathematical and physical sciences of which he makes use with the same reserve.⁶ To the philosopher, the strife between reason and faith will appear as resolved when he interprets it in Saint Augustine's terms: "Intellect would never submit, if it did not think that there are cases in which submission is necessary." Subjective empiricism, leading, at one end of the parabola, to Descartes' enthymeme and, at the other end, to the investigations of Maine de Biran, will seem to him only one of the many *analytical ragoûts*, now the object of his jibes;⁷ the aim of Descartes' doctrine will appear to him that of annihilating general concepts out of love for facts and phenomena.⁸

Renewing the harsh strictures of his youth against the motionless dyads of the pantheism of Hegel, Gioberti perceives that this pantheism destroys plurality out of love for unity, sacrifices concreteness to abstraction, sensation to reason, individuals and details to the generalizations of mind and intellect. His fleeting enthusiasm for rationalism has relinquished the field to the stern wisdom of maturity, and he now sees that that transitory idol is stained with unseemly theoretical blemishes. He perceives in theological rationalism a doctrine that spurns the supernatural; which makes of Christianity a human institution, of its dogmatics a web of empty symbols, of its history a collection of quackeries and fables, and which, reducing everything to nature, is powerless to explain its origins and aims.⁹

* * *

The contacts of Gioberti with legitimist Catholic traditionalism have their place in the pre-historic era, as it were, of this speculative process, but are its necessary premise and indispensable prelude. Of the two opposite poles of the mind, Faith and Reason, traditionalism may be said to revolve generally around the first, with this important qualification however, that for the traditionalists themselves the polarity of the intellect doesn't exist because they identify theology and philosophy.

The solution of the cognitive problem becomes for Gioberti of tragic complexity, since he is not willing to recognize and adore humbly the decrees of the deity and to annihilate his intellect before the infinite mind—as the pure traditionalists, of the type of Bonald, do, when they identify theology and philosophy.

⁵ *Proleg.*, p. 195.

⁶ *Proleg.*, p. 95.

⁷ *Proleg.*, p. 195.

⁸ Descartes is one of Gioberti's *bêtes noires*. Notice the violently personal tone and the sharp-edged nationalistic vindication, of the following: "Quando Cartesio venne al mondo, la sua filosofia scolastica era già tutta spenta per opera degli Italiani. Il Ficino avea rimesso in onore Platone; Campanella avea rinnovato in qualche modo Aristotele; e il Bruni era già volato, per così dire, fino al cielo sulle ali dell'ontologia."

⁹ *Proleg.*, p. 209.

In truth, even in the ranks of the traditionalists a disturbing division is furtively made by a slight disagreement between de Maistre and Bonald about the identification of theology and philosophy. One thing is certain: Bonald attributes to dogma an absolutely binding importance, exaggerates, in an almost Jansenistic way, the system of Grace, and remains the purest representative of irrational absolutism. De Maistre, on the contrary, in his ambiguously flexible exposé of the functions of intuition, in a famous passage of the *Soirées*, and through the explicit subordination of Reason to Faith, [and not its identification with it] and, also, through the rôle that he assigns to Reason in the discovery of religious faith, seems to stand at an outpost of traditionalist speculation. The attempt, made by Gioberti, to conciliate rational philosophy and Catholicism, despite the fact that a superficial observer might be convinced of the contrary, harks directly back to de Maistre. De Maistre's system, which Gioberti as a young man thought of as leading finally to skepticism, appears to the unprejudiced observer as the logical presupposition of which Gioberti's effort is the prolongation.

To reconsider freely, as Gioberti does, traditional religion, to draw religious elements in the orbit of thought and to show that this free speculation instead of waging war against Catholicism, gives it new life, inasmuch as this speculation finds in Catholicism rationally demonstrated truths;¹⁰ what can it amount to, but to the actualization of the dialectic process of Reason, as de Maistre defines and particularizes it? Is not this perhaps the extraordinary rejuvenation of Christianity to which de Maistre insistently alludes in letters and theoretical writings, with the insistence characteristic of a firmly rooted conviction?

Gioberti's contacts with legitimist traditionalism, as we have just said, go back to the pre-historic period of his speculative evolution. They take place at the moment in which Gioberti awakes from his republicanism, his infatuation for Rousseau, from that which he, later on, called his youthful dreams, pure democracy, Saint-Simonism, pantheistic faith. In his maturity, the republican stage of his thought appeared to him so remote and so childish that he wrote: "Je ne suis pas républicain, car je n'ai guère envie de redevenir enfant". The sin of his youth had its historical justification, to be traced in the complete identification, at that time, of the concept of liberalism with that of republicanism.

It is the year 1817. Gioberti's mind is steeped in Rousseau and Alfieri.¹¹ He oscillates violently between whole-hearted republican infatuation and abhorrence for revolutionary ideology. During one of these spiritual crises he must have turned to de Maistre; from the diary which Gioberti kept of his readings from April 20 to Oct. 1, 1821, we observe that on Sept. 17 he had already begun to reread the *Essai sur le Principe générateur des Constitutions politiques*. There he found the systematic demonstration of the advantages of monarchical régime, and the complete fighting equipment of which traditionalism makes use in order to batter down the political protestantism impersonated by the Revolution, and, especially, to counteract the theories on the

¹⁰ Anzilotti, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹¹ Conversely, Gioberti's abhorrence, at this time (1817-21), for the monarchic system is evidenced by his intention of drawing up a sort of "Anti-Télémaque": *Direzioni per la coscienza d'un re. (Saranno il contrario di quelle di Fénelon)*.

origin of society, and the doctrine of popular sovereignty. He assimilates and uses this anti-Rousseau equipment almost entirely: contracting thereby his first debt with traditionalism, the most apparent and also the most persistent, the one that definitely remains with him, even when he has completed the parabola of his intellectual development. The equipment of polemic weapons directed against Rousseau is undeniably the positive part of traditionalism. From the uncompromising criticism of the rights of natural man springs forth clearly the concept, fundamental to political speculation, of the organic character of the state and the necessity of giving to the state a moral content and an historically determined mission.

Fighting against the idol of his adolescence, Gioberti adopts the viewpoint, formulated by de Maistre and Bonald, of the identity of society and nature. A passage like the following, by Gioberti, can be easily paralleled with more than one passage of de Maistre: "Naturalis hominis conditio societas est. Quocirca nec refutatione digna videntur Hobbesii et Rousseau absurda, dum, familiae civitatisque consortione e naturae ceu albo expuncta, eam veluti quidpiam artefactum et naturae adversum traducunt (*De Deo et naturali religione*)."

Here must also be mentioned the well known comparison, made by de Maistre, between the tapestry wrought by the weaver and the web spun by the spider, a comparison which he uses to show the absolute sameness of society and nature. The profound contempt of that "*nec refutatione digna videntur*" must be particularly emphasized, in the passage quoted from Gioberti, indicating as it does a viewpoint spiritually outgrown; and therein must be remarked the conjunction of Rousseau with Hobbes, which is peculiar, to say the least.

Gioberti, in his maturity, formulated a conclusive judgment of Rousseau: "Rousseau has a robust and blazing eloquence, a profound inaptitude for discovering the truth of ideas and things, events and men. His philosophy is paradoxical. His eloquence is devoid of ingenuousness, restraint and naturalness, and generally is but an harmonious and passionate declamation, pleasing to youthful minds, unsatisfying to mature ones." Here is to be noted the return of the theme of the youthful Giobertian error and the tone of moderation, in comparison with the unbridled accusations of de Maistre, who treats Rousseau almost as an idiot, a stammering greenhorn, a raving maniac.

From the vast cauldron of the political-religious works of de Maistre it is probable that Gioberti derived still another attitude which remained with him: his pronounced anti-mysticism, in which his vocation of religious reformer is contained embryonically; the embryo, which in him developed with great vigor, is, in de Maistre, but the expression of the latter's aversion to every form of immediate religious experience, free and independent of the authoritative mediation of orthodox discipline.

The anti-mystical motif is also prevalent in Bonald, perhaps even more than in de Maistre, given the preponderance, in de Maistre, of political pragmatism over the religious elements of his doctrine. Bonald's passage on mysticism should be recalled: "L'amour de Dieu dans quelques sectes chrétiennes est un amour platonique qui ne saurait produire; il est exalté dans les expressions, mais il est vide. Cette sorte de dévotion contemplative et qui s'exhale en aspirations mystiques, et en sentiments alambiqués, est commune en Allemagne, et fait le fond de la religiosité". Compare with this Gioberti's: "A religion which is

merely inward and individual is truncated, emasculated, and of no importance, in the same way in which the abstract loses its value if separated from the concrete."¹² In this passage—and in many others which it would be superfluous to quote—the agreement between Gioberti and the traditionalists is only superficial. It derives from motives intrinsically contrary to theirs. Gioberti's aversion to mysticism originates in his activist and voluntary conception of religion. Bonald's antipathy is, instead, the result of his homage to ecclesiastical hierarchy and to tradition. But the possibility is not to be excluded, that Gioberti, in reading Bonald, did not see very clearly in himself the reason for his anti-mystical attitude.

Another element of contact between Gioberti and the reactionary doctrine is the common animosity to religious indifference. If in his aversion to Rousseau's politics, Gioberti comes near joining de Maistre, and, in his anti-mysticism, approaches Bonald, in his hatred for indifference he gravitates towards Lamennais (naturally Lamennais' *première manière*). His ideas touch those of the above-mentioned three when he affirms the identity of the principles governing both religious and political society. Such an identity, Bonald says, is founded on the perfect analogy established by God, between the two systems of laws governing inward and social man.

From this analogy springs a series of parallelisms, symmetrically balanced. Republicans are the atheists of politics, Jacobins the atheists of religion. Deists, atheists in disguise. As for the constitutionalists of the moderate party, midway between the democrats and the realists, they correspond to the Deists who, occupying the middle ground between atheists and Christians, have advocated dynastic democracy, namely, camouflaged democracy.

It would be natural to suppose, however, that Gioberti, even in the period of his violent rebound from the doctrines of popular sovereignty, would have clearly expressed his disagreement with Bonald's linking of Deists and democratic constitutionalists. On the contrary, Gioberti fully subscribes to the concept of the organic formation of the state, as the traditionalists had begun to develop it. De Maistre says: "La plante est l'image naturelle des pouvoirs légitimes: sa durée est toujours proportionnelle à sa force et à sa durée totale." From this formula derives the corollary: "Tout pouvoir constitué immédiatement dans toute la plénitude de ses forces et de ses attributs, est, par cela même, faux, éphémère et ridicule. Autant vaudrait un homme adulte-né". As is known, all de Maistre's refutations of the Revolutionists' constitutionalist delusion is based on these two symbols, that of the plant (*crescit occulto velut arbor aëvo*) and the negative and grotesque one of the man adult at birth. The first of these two symbols is very rich in consequences, and undeniably true when used to emphasize the historicity of nations, the impossibility of creating *ex novo* social forms which have not sprung from the sub-soil of law-creating collective conscience, and, when fully evolved, it leads to Herder's affirmation of *Volkgeist* and to the developments of the German historical school. But the symbol of the organic character of the state is erroneous, if, in driving it to its last conclusions, one wants to infer from it the impotence of human reason to change a régime which, only because it is consecrated by its antiquity, is to be reputed divine. Traditionalism insists on this claim. Therefore, tradi-

¹² *Proleg.*, p. 196.

traditionalism does not fully develop the organic principle and uses historicity only in an inferior capacity and to legitimize a static conception, without grafting on it creative dynamism, (*Formola ideale*) which alone can give to the organic concept its vitality and its consciousness of self.

It would be interesting to investigate in detail the reasons for which the organic concept of the state is insufficiently formulated by the traditionalists. It is enough to point out the possibility that Gioberti might have received, from such a concept, stimulation to further developments. Research should here become intense and detailed because we touch an extremely sensitive and important point of Gioberti's speculations, the concept of nationality. It is, together with the principle of creation, the real thread of Ariadne running through Gioberti's thought.¹³

The principle of creation, as Professor Saitta rightly observes, is nothing but the historicity of mind, the mind as history, synthesis of philosophy and politics, and is englobed in the organic formula employed by the traditionalists. The main reason why traditionalism stops at a schematic formulation of the organic principle, without deriving from it any advantage but the merely negative one of counteracting the rationalist abstractions of the Revolution, is obvious. Traditionalism foresaw the danger of charging with dynamic meaning and with independent consciousness the concept of Nation, and this was prevented also by its fundamental anti-Romanticism, as has been aptly observed by Rohden who points out that the concept of nationality as collective genius, as superindividual reality living a life nourished by history and rich in consciousness of self, is an exclusively Romantic product and derives logically from the Romantic doctrine of genius— "In der ganzen Staatlehre de Maistres keinen einzigen Begriff giebt, den man mit Volkgeist in dem spezifisch romantischen Sinne uebersetzen konnte. Die Raison nationale hat eine ganz andere Funktion: sie fordert nicht Hingabe, aber Unterordnung. Das eine korrelativ des romantischen Geniekults, nämlich der Volkgeist, fällt also bei De Maistre von vornherein fort, da dem Amtsadligen nichts ferner liegt, als der Nation eine Kollektivgenialität zuzuerkennen."¹⁴

Exactly at this point the parallel roads travelled by the traditionalists and by Giobertian speculation diverge, never to approach each other again. Residues of traditionalist speculation will be found, it is true, in the final *corpus* of Gioberti's doctrines, but developed to such an extent and surrounded by an intellectual tissue so different, as to serve totally opposite apodictic and polemic aims. Gioberti has emancipated himself completely from the traditionalists, and, from now on, criticizes them devastatingly. One has only to read, in his preface to the *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy*, the refutation of the main contentions of De Maistre's *Essai sur le Principe générateur des Constitutions politiques*, and the masterly lambasting of de Maistre in a famous note of Gioberti's "Primato",¹⁵ or the violent indictment of De Maistre and Bonald in the close of "Prolegomeni",¹⁶ to be convinced of the fact.

¹³ Giuseppe Saitta, *Il pensiero di Vincenzo Gioberti*, Vallecchi, Florence, p. XVII, introd.

¹⁴ Peter Richard Rohden, *Joseph de Maistre als Politischer Theoretiker*, München, 1929, p. 207.

¹⁵ *Il Primato morale e civile degli Italiani*, ed. by Gustavo Balsamo Crivelli, Turin, Unione Tipografica Ed., vol. II, p. 14.

¹⁶ Edited by G. B. Crivelli, Turin, U. T. E., p. 233-239.

This axiom shone now on the mind of Gioberti: "The inward autonomy of a nation is a function of the spontaneity of its character, which includes not only laws and institutions, but all the branches of culture." From Italianism, industriousness and Catholicism, the three lay premises, must arise the redemption of Italy, desired or attempted in vain through many centuries, because one or another of the three premises was lacking.¹⁷ From the union of the creative idea, which is the highest achievement of dialectics, with the idea of man, considered as a being who contains the possibility of becoming a God, and with Nationality, interpreted as *Volkgeist*, must spring the deliverance of the peninsula; pledge of its future prestige, and promise of a renescent glory.

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CINQ LETTRES INÉDITES DE BUFFON

ON nous a communiqué récemment, lors de certaines recherches que nous faisons sur Buffon, cinq lettres du naturaliste que nous croyons inédites. Il nous a paru qu'elles méritaient de venir s'ajouter à la correspondance publiée du grand écrivain. Elles appartiennent à la collection d'autographes que possède le Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris. Nous les reproduisons exactement d'après les manuscrits.

Les deux premières, qui sont adressées à l'abbé Bexon,¹ un des collaborateurs de Buffon, sont dignes d'attention. Elles nous donnent quelques détails intéressants sur la composition d'une partie de l'*Histoire naturelle*. Elles nous montrent le naturaliste qui, par lettre, dirige en "chef d'équipe" les travaux de ses aides:

I

"Je viens d'écrire à M. Gueneau de Montbeillard² que je lui laisserois faire l'article du Roitelet huppé; ainsi Monsieur L'abbé Bexon peut ne s'en pas occuper; il en sera de même du torche-pot, parce que j'ai combiné que nous avions assés de besogne sans nous charger encore de ces deux articles. J'aime mieux que nous allions en avant sur le martin pêcheur et sur les pics après que les petits oiseaux seront achevés. Je compte avoir le plaisir de voir Monsieur l'abbé Bexon mercredi matin et je le prie de faire mes très humbles compliments à Ses Dames.³

"au Jardin du Roi⁴
Ce 21 Xbre 1776"⁵

¹⁷ Proleg., p. 102.

¹ Gabriel-Léopold-Charles-Amé Bexon (1747-1784). Voir sur lui: Nadauld de Buffon, *Buffon, sa famille et ses collaborateurs*, Paris, 1863, pp. 329-371; et Buisson, "Un collaborateur de Buffon, l'abbé Bexon", dans le *Bulletin de la Société Philomatique Vosgienne*, année 1888-1889, pp. 1-45.

² Philibert Gueneau de Montbeillard (1720-1785), ami et collaborateur de Buffon.

³ Sa mère et sa sœur.

⁴ Buffon fut Intendant du Jardin du Roi de 1739 à 1788.

⁵ Ms. 882, pièce 5. Cette lettre n'est pas signée, et l'écriture est celle d'un secrétaire. On croit généralement que les premiers travaux fournis à Buffon par l'abbé datent de 1777 (cf. Buisson, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27). Cette lettre prouve, cependant, que déjà en 1776 Bexon écrivait pour l'*Histoire naturelle*.

Adresse: "A Monsieur / Monsieur l'abbé Bexon ruë / Montmartre vis à vis la ruë platière / chés le miroitier / à Paris."

II

"Ce 15 Juin⁶

"Vous verrés, mon très cher abbé,⁷ par la petite notte ci-jointe de M. Mandonnet⁸ que la copie leur manque, et je crois cependant que nous n'en manquons pas encore à beaucoup près; ainsi je vous prie de lui en faire passer après que vous aurés relu les épreuves que je vous envoie.

"Je suis très content de l'article du granit que je fais copier actuellement, ce que vous y avés ajouté y fait très bien; néanmoins je serai encore obligé de retravailler cet article car à prendre les granits primitifs en général, il y en a plus qui contiennent du schorl que de ceux qui contiennent du mica, et je commence à croire qu'il y a deux espèces de schorl, l'un qu'on doit regarder comme un cinquième verre primitif et l'autre de seconde formation ou de décomposition du premier; mais il seroit trop long de vous dire ici les raisons sur lesquelles je fonde cette nouvelle opinion.

"J'écris par cet ordinaire à M. Lucas⁹ de vous donner une somme de 750lt dont vous voudrés bien m'envoyer votre qui[t]tance pour jusqu'au 1^{er} Octobre.

"Bonjour, mon cher ami; j'ai depuis quelques jours les yeux assés malades."¹⁰

En 1780, d'après Nadault,¹¹ Buffon plaça 40.000 livres dans une affaire qui tourna mal par la suite. C'était une compagnie formée pour l'exploitation et l'épuration du charbon de terre. La lettre suivante nous donne, outre des détails sur une assez grave maladie du fils¹² du naturaliste, quelques renseignements sur les rapports de Buffon avec cette compagnie:

III

"De Montbard¹³ ce 19 nobre¹⁴ 1783

⁶ De quelle année est cette seconde lettre? Nous la croyons de 1780. Les additions que Bexon a faites à l'article du granit, et qui sont mentionnées ici, sont évidemment celles dont Buffon parle à l'abbé le 9 juin 1780. Cf. J.-L. de Lanessan, *Œuvres complètes de Buffon*, Paris, 1885, 14 vols., t. XIV, p. 19 (les tomes XIII et XIV de cet ouvrage sont composés de la "Correspondance générale de Buffon" que Nadault de Buffon a ajoutée à cette édition des œuvres complètes). Puis il est question du schorl dans cette lettre du 15 juin, et on voit (*ibid.*, p. 22) que le 9 juillet 1780 Buffon n'a pas encore pris parti sur ce sujet. Nous voyons aussi qu'à l'époque où il dictait la lettre ci-dessus ses yeux commençaient à lui faire mal. Or, il écrit à Bexon le 11 août 1780: "J'ai aussi beaucoup souffert des yeux, surtout pendant les grandes chaleurs..." (*ibid.*, p. 25).

⁷ Il est à noter que le ton de cette lettre est plus familier que celui de la lettre précédente.

⁸ Mandonnet était employé par Buffon pour la surveillance de l'impression de ses ouvrages (*ibid.*, p. 141, note 2).

⁹ François Lucas (1745-1825), conservateur des galeries du Cabinet du Roi. Il était l'homme de confiance de Buffon à Paris.

¹⁰ Ms. 882, pièce 37. Comme la précédente, cette lettre fut écrite par un secrétaire et ne fut pas signée par Buffon.

¹¹ Lanessan, *op. cit.*, t. XIV, p. 59, note 4.

¹² Georges-Louis-Marie Leclerc de Buffon (1764-1794).

¹³ Montbard, en Bourgogne, lieu de naissance de Buffon.

¹⁴ Dans le manuscrit ce mot est presque illisible. Nous lisons: "novembre."

"J'ai reçu vos deux lettres Monsieur¹⁵ et je n'ai différé de répondre à la première que dans l'espérance où j'étois de vous donner de meilleures nouvelles de la santé de votre malade, dont vous avés eu tant de soin et dont il m'a témoigné et me témoigne encore la plus tendre reconnaissance en disant qu'il n'oubliera jamais de sa vie les grandes obligations qu'il vous a. Vous sentés bien mon cher Monsieur que je partage ses sentimens; vous m'avés en effet donné dans cette ocation [*sic*] des marque[s] d'un véritable attachement dont je connois tout le prix et dont je ne puis vous remercier assés. Il faut aussi que vous m'aidiés à remercier votre ami M. Gardasse¹⁶ et comme il lui est dû un assés grand nombre de visite[s] je vous prie de m'en envoyer la notte pour que je puisse écrire à Mr. Lucas de vous en remettre le montant à raison de six livres par visite. Vous voudrés bien me marquer si cela sera suffisant. Il n'y a que quatre jours que la fièvre a quitté et je ne sçais encore si mon fils est entièrement quitte. ce qu'il [qui] me le fait croire c'est qu'il a déjà repris des forces, mais il a toujours un petit re[s]sentiment sans fri[s]sons et qui se fait sentir à la même heure que la fièvre le saisi[s]soit. il me charge de mille tendresses pour vous Monsieur et il conte [compte] vous écrire dans quelques jours.

"Vous sçaves Monsieur que je ne suis entré dans la Compagnie du Charbon que par complaisance pour Mr. L'Echevin¹⁷ et sans aucune vue d'intérêt. j'ai fait pour la protéger tout ce qui dépendoit de moi auprès de Mr. de Maurepas¹⁸ soit auprès de Mr. de Vergennes¹⁹ qui m'a même écrit au mois de juin dernier que cette entreprise méritoit des égards. je ne sçais donc pas comment l'affaire a si mal tourné, mais en mon particulier il y a longtemps que j'étois décidé à quitter cette société et je vous prie de faire pour moi comme vous ferés pour vous même, car je vois par votre lettre Monsieur que vous êtes de même très décidé à ne plus fournir de fonds et je vous avoue que quand je devrois perdre tout ce que j'ai avancé, je suis très déterminé à ne plus rien fournir. vous ferés donc avec mon procureur ce que vous ferés avec le vôtre en signifiant à la compagnie que je me retire. J'en avois prévenu verbalement Mr. De La Chapelle²⁰ mais je vois aujourd'hui qu'il faut y mettre une forme juridique, et je vous serois obligé de prendre la voix [voie] la plus sûre pour qu'on ne puisse pas m'inquiéter dans la suite. je ne sçais pourquoi Mr. De La Chapelle garde le silence avec moi. je lui ait écrit au mois de juin, une seconde lettre au mois de Septembre dernier; il ne m'a point fait de

¹⁵ Cette lettre ne porte pas de suscription. Selon le *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Paris, t. II, Muséum d'histoire naturelle* . . . , Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1914, p. 352, elle aurait été adressée, à Charles Panckoucke. Nous n'avons pas pu vérifier l'exactitude de cette indication.

¹⁶ Il s'agit évidemment d'un médecin. Son nom ne figure pas dans la correspondance publiée de Buffon.

¹⁷ Jean-Matthieu Leschevin, premier commis du ministère de la Maison du Roi (cf. Lanessan, *op. cit.*, t. XIV, p. 44, note 1).

¹⁸ Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas (1701-1781).

¹⁹ Charles Gravier, comte de Vergennes (1717-1787).

²⁰ Bernard de La Chapelle, premier commis du ministère de la Maison du Roi (cf. *ibid.*, p. 227, note 1).

réponse. cela est assés peu honnette quant même il auroit des motifs de mécontentement que je ne puis ni soupçonner ni deviner.

"Si mon fils se rétablit avant la mauvaise saison nous retournerons ensemble à paris et j'aurai bien de la satisfaction de vous renouveler de vive voix les sentiments de tout mon attachement.

Le Cte. de Buffon"²¹

La quatrième lettre que nous reproduisons ici fut écrite au baron Philippe Picot de La Peyrouse²² pour le remercier de l'envoi d'un livre:

IV

"Montbar 22 mai 1786

"J'ai reçu, Monsieur, l'utile traité²³ que vous avés publié sur les mines de fer et les forges du comté de foix.²⁴ vous acquérés un nouveau droit à ma reconnaissance en m'envoyant le supplément et les deux nouvelles planches. je vous lirai, Monsieur, avec tout l'intérêt qu'on doit à vos ouvrages. Vous avés déjà un beau témoignage en leur faveur. je suis enchanté de la manière dont les états de languedoc ont accueilli des recherches dont l'influence tend à améliorer les arts utiles qui sont cultivés dans cette province. Mon suffrage que vous avés la bonté d'ambitionner est fort au-dessous de cette approbation publique; mais rien n'égale Monsieur la parfaite estime avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être

"Votre très humble
et très obéissant serviteur

Le Cte. de Buffon"²⁵

De 1739 jusqu'en 1788 Buffon fut Intendant du Jardin du Roi. Pendant ces 49 années il construisit de nombreux bâtiments et augmenta du double la superficie de l'établissement.²⁶ Pour les différents travaux entrepris au Jardin, la comptabilité du naturaliste était fort simple. Il avançait tout ce qu'il fallait, et puis il obtenait des remboursements de la trésorerie.²⁷ Cette manière d'agir n'allait pas toujours sans inconvénient. Il arrivait parfois à Buffon de manquer d'argent à cause de retards dans le remboursement des avances.²⁸ Mais il trouvait toujours moyen de faire face à ces contre-temps. S'il n'avait pas d'argent lui-même, il en empruntait. Ainsi, dans la lettre qui suit, il demande à Panckoucke²⁹ de lui en prêter:

V

"Montbard le 20 aoust 1787

"votre silence m'inquiétoit et j'ai été enchanté, mon très cher monsieur,

²¹ Ms. 1997, pièce 68. Seule la signature est de la main de Buffon.

²² 1744-1818.

²³ *Traité sur les mines de fer et les forges du comté de Foix*, Toulouse, 1786, in-8. Cf. Quézard, *La France littéraire*, t. VII, p. 145.

²⁴ Le fer et les forges ont joué un rôle important dans la vie de Buffon. Voir à ce sujet: Edouard Estaunié, "Buffon", dans les *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Dijon*, mars, 1924, pp. 41-64. Cet article a été reproduit (sans plan) dans la *Revue hebdomadaire* du 3 mai, 1924, sous le titre de "La vraie figure de Buffon".

²⁵ Ms. 1990, pièce 84. Seule la signature est de la main de Buffon.

²⁶ Cf. Lanessan, *op. cit.*, les lettres du naturaliste à Thouin.

²⁷ Le Jardin du Roi dépendait du ministère de la Maison du Roi.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, t. XIV, pp. 301, 354, 356.

²⁹ Charles-Joseph Panckoucke, libraire et imprimeur, un des éditeurs de l'*Histoire naturelle*.

de recevoir aujourd'hui de vos nouvelles; je ne crois pas que vous ayés rien à craindre des demandes qu'on me paroît vous faire très injustement et je suis bien persuadé que vous avés fait des réponses victorieuses; mais cela ne m'empêche pas de vous plaindre du tracassé que cela vous occasionne. puisque vous avés déposé des billets de M. de la ferté,³⁰ il ne faut pas les retirer des mains de M. votre gendre³¹ et il me suffit de savoir qu'ils sont en effet entre ses mains, et qu'on ne les mettra pas sur la place. mais si vous pouviés, Monsieur, me prêter sur vos propres fonds dans le mois de novembre prochain ou même plutôt, une somme de vingt cinq ou trente mille livres, je la prendrais pour six mois à 6.8. % d'intérêts. on fait au jardin du Roi des travaux très considérables, et dont la dépense est de sept ou huit mille francs par semaine dont je fais l'avance, et d'autre part il m'est dû quatre vingt douze mille livres pour une ordonnance sur le trésor Royal dont on retarde le paiement, et c'est ce qui me force à emprunter de l'argent pour ne pas suspendre nos travaux. M. Plaçant³² pourroit, peut-être aussi de concert avec vous, Monsieur, me donner quelque argent ou des effets prochains sur le débit courant de l'histoire naturelle [*l'Histoire naturelle*]. faites moi l'amitié de me répondre incessamment sur ces deux articles. Ma santé est à peu près au même état. je souffre toujours et cependant je vais, sans pouvoir m'occuper que quelques heures par jour.³³ Mon fils est parti pour joindre son régiment à Joinville en Champagne. j'ai l'honneur d'être avec toute amitié et tout attachement, mon très cher Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Le Cte. de Buffon"³⁴

Adresse: "A Monsieur / Monsieur Panckoucke à / L'hôtel de thou Rue des / Poitevins / A Paris."

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A SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BAUDELAIRIANA, 1923-1932

A word in explanation of the title of this bibliography may be in order. It does not attempt to record the titles of all the literature devoted to Baudelaire during his life and since his death. It is not exhaustive, but selective. The present list is limited to a bibliography of publications on Baudelaire. No edition, translation, or review of a work by Baudelaire is supposed to be found in it. On the other hand, it includes both scholarly and popular studies, either books or articles, whether of a biographical or of a literary nature.

³⁰ Serait-ce Denis-Pierre-Jean Papillon de La Ferté (1727-1794), intendant des menus plaisirs du roi?

³¹ Le gendre de Panckoucke s'appelait Agasse (cf. la première page de l'"avertissement de l'auteur" dans Garat, D.-J., *Mémoires historiques sur la vie de M. Suard* . . . , Paris, Belin, 1820, 2 vols. in-8.

³² Plaçan (ou Plaçant) fut associé avec Panckoucke dans la publication de *l'Histoire naturelle*.

³³ Buffon devait mourir de la pierre l'année suivante.

³⁴ Ms. 1997, pièce 70. Cette lettre fut écrite par un secrétaire et signée par Buffon. Au verso on trouve un cachet en cire rouge aux armes du naturaliste.

The terminal dates selected cover the last decade, from 1923 to 1932 inclusive. The term "supplementary" is to be understood to mean the exclusion of all titles found in any Baudelaire bibliography published until now. It so happens that all ten, which have been issued already, were published in Paris, in the city where Baudelaire was born and died.

In the year following his death, A. de la Fizelière and G. Decaux collaborated in an *Essai de Bibliographie contemporaine: Charles Baudelaire*. The Vicomte C. V. M. A. de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul twice listed the titles known to him, first in 1872 in *Charles Baudelaire: Souvenirs, Correspondance, Bibliographie* (pp. 145-185) and later in 1894 in *Les Lundis d'un Chercheur: Étude bibliographique sur les Œuvres de Charles Baudelaire* (pp. 249-303). Titles relating to Baudelaire are given by H. P. Thieme on page 34 of his *Guide bibliographique de la Littérature française de 1800 à 1906* and by A. Barre on pages 44-54 of his *Bibliographie de la Poésie symboliste. Le Cinquantenaire de Charles Baudelaire*, a symposium by E. Raynaud and many contributors on the literary criticism of Baudelaire from 1857 to 1917, closes with an "Index bibliographique". Raynaud alone then published *Charles Baudelaire: Étude biographique et critique*, in which he listed the works by Baudelaire, the portraits of him, and (pp. 391-400) the studies on him. It was issued in 1922 and reprinted without any changes in 1929. A rather exhaustive "Index bibliographique" to date was appended by the "Cercle de la Librairie" to F. Vandérem's "Causerie sur Baudelaire," reproduced in Supplement No. 45 of the *Bibliographie de la France* (Nov. 9, 1923, pp. 226-246). The 1925 edition of Lanson's *Manuel bibliographique de la Littérature française* devotes items 18241 to 18294, as well as corresponding items of the Supplement, to Baudelaire, but no title is more recent than 1919. The *Bibliographie des Auteurs modernes de Langue française*, by H. Talvart and J. Place, will be an extremely useful reference-book when completed. Pages 281 to 306 of the first volume contain several lists of Baudelaire studies. The magnitude of the scope of their enterprise should atone for the many lacunae noticeable.

In addition to being supplementary in the sense that the present list excludes any Baudelairiana published prior to 1923 or recorded by Talvart and Place, it also excludes all titles arranged chronologically by S. A. Rhodes in *The Cult of Beauty in Charles Baudelaire* (II, New York, 1929, pp. 589-617). Some of the studies recorded here refer to other works in the foot-notes, but the bibliography of Rhodes is undoubtedly the most extensive. Second only to Rhodes in the number of references recorded by the works in the present list is C. González-Ruano's *Baudelaire* (Madrid, 1931, pp. 459-475). The seven titles given by the latter, which are more recent than 1922, are omitted here. Prof. Thieme's *Bibliography of French Literature From 1800 to 1930* has not yet begun to appear. The first person mentioned in the following list, W. T. Bandy, has announced the preparation of a Baudelaire bibliography. His list, which already comprises some 2000 cards, will be quite comprehensive and will be, indeed, welcome when it appears.

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EMERSON'S DISCIPLE IN BELGIUM: MARIE MALI (1855-1927)¹

MARIE MALI, *Disciple d'Emerson!* — Such is the epitaph to which this Belgian woman ardently aspired and which she confided in her last will and testament. Nor ought it be regarded as a strange whim, for she

¹ This article was read before the first meeting of the Belgian Section of the Modern Language Association of America.

was responsible for the Emerson vogue in France and Belgium during the 1890's. Not only did she actively spread the gospel of the apostle of self-reliance by means of articles and translations, but she encouraged others, more talented than herself (among them, Maeterlinck) to share her enthusiasm for the *Essays*. Yet, throughout the long period of her activity, she preferred to remain "the anonymous sage-femme" of the Emerson movement, as she piquantly put it in an unpublished letter to a friend. That we are able to raise her from the almost complete obscurity that surrounds her today, is due to the fact that we had access to her unedited and personal papers, and that we had the pleasure of conversing with the few remaining people who were witnesses of her missionary zeal². Who is Mali? What did Emerson mean to her? What was her rôle in popularizing Emerson? These questions we shall answer briefly.

Marie Mali was born in 1855 of a wealthy middle-class Catholic family, in Verviers, a small industrial town in Belgium, close to the German border. Her uncle was a Belgian consul-general at New York. The family still retains the post which they have held in uninterrupted line. She was a gay and impulsive young girl and was stifled by the narrow provincial atmosphere of Verviers. As might be expected, her imagination was stirred by the tales of wonder and freedom which her brother Jules brought back from America. Her uncle, Charles Mali, had married an American woman who was an ardent Unitarian. It was this aunt who introduced Marie, at the age of 18, to Emerson's *Essays*. New and bright vistas were suddenly opened to her. Emerson was a refuge and an inspiration. At the age of 20 she came to America. The visit gave her a better understanding of Emerson and of the language in which he wrote, for she planned to translate the *Essays* into French so that others too might be edified. On returning home she could not contain her fervor, which she communicated to her friend, Mme Levoz. Like true evangelists, the two young women planned a program by which they could effectively spread the doctrines of Emerson. Europe, said Marie, needed "his vigorous idealism". His teachings would serve admirably to counteract the spirit of defeat, the philosophy of despair, the pessimism prevalent in Europe at that time. As an antidote to the influence of the "decadent" writers, she offered the heartening, vitalizing creed of Emerson.

In 1888, Marie Mali made another trip to America. Her project of publishing a serious study of Emerson, as well as the translations of the *Essays*, was definitely formed. She visited Concord, Emerson's tomb, and had talks with Miss Ellen (Emerson) and others who might give her information about the revered philosopher.

The personal correspondence between Mali and Mme Levoz in the year 1888 throws much light on their concern with the ideas of Emerson. Mme Levoz had, since 1885, been publishing articles in Belgian newspapers on Emerson's doctrine of the infinitude of the common man, self-reliance, compensation, and the over-soul. She knew no English. But this did not deter her, and to Mali she turned for enlightenment. Levoz was pained that Emerson was so little known in Belgium. She felt, she said, a genuine joy in reading Emerson during "her moments of discouragement", for his luminous phrases induced a

² During a stay in Belgium in 1929 as a C. R. B. Fellow, the writer profited by the assistance of Charles M. Mali, Mme Blanche Rousseau and Mme Levoz.

vigorous self-confidence that dissipated all despair. When Levoz was nonplussed as to whether Emerson was a deist or pantheist, a spiritualist or a materialist, Mali replied as follows: "Je ne trouve pas qu'il se contredise . . . Si on réduisait ces contradictions à leur sens véritable en les analysant dans le milieu d'où elles sortent, on les ferait disparaître facilement. Emerson est la réponse vivante à cette question: peut-on être à la fois matérialiste et spiritualiste?" And she goes on to elaborate her ideas of Emerson's beliefs and ends quite tersely: "Emerson pour moi n'est pas un système. C'est un homme . . . on ne peut pas être Emersonien — on peut s'inspirer de lui". There are many similar passages in their correspondence that reveal a subtle understanding of Emerson (Lettre de Mali à Levoz, le 12 mai 1888).

When Mali returned in 1889, she went to live at Brussels to mingle with that literary and artistic group which may be rightly considered as the most advanced and distinguished coterie in Belgium at the time. It included men like Picard, Maeterlinck, Verhaeren, Lemonnier, Verlaine, Vielé-Griffin. *L'Art Moderne* and *La Société Nouvelle* were the principal organs of this group. To both of these, Marie Mali was a regular contributor. Quietly and effectively she asked her friends to write about Emerson. She easily won over Picard and Maeterlinck. With Georgette Le Blanc she was also friendly. Her enthusiasm was infectious, and they were not slow in expressing their high regard for the American philosopher and their approval of her desire to popularize him. Picard, a leader of the group, promised to write an introduction to the French edition of Emerson's *Essays*.

1890 was the decisive year. The campaign was under way. Mali's labors were finally bearing fruit. Her unsigned study of Emerson, an eloquent appraisal of his beliefs, was published in *L'Art Moderne* on the 13th of July. Shortly after, (Aug. 3) "Confiance en Soi", her first translation, appeared; and for three years a series of translations of the other essays followed suit, both in *L'Art Moderne* and *La Société Nouvelle*. At the same time (August, 1890), Mme Levoz published her study of Emerson in the popular *Gilon* edition. Her book received favorable notice and was reviewed at length in *L'Art Moderne* (September). Newspapers and magazines, awakened to the existence of Emerson, printed extracts from the translations. The vogue for Emerson was launched.

Picard, as an editor of the reviews responsible for the growing interest in Emerson, apparently considered himself the foster-father of the movement. In an editorial note (*L'Art Moderne*, Sept. 21, 1890), he wrote: "Nous adressons de tout cœur, pour les vrais artistes et pour nous, des remerciements à l'aimable et intelligente femme inconnue à qui nous devons cette précieuse aubaine." But this compliment to the "Inconnue" was patronizing. On this delicate matter, we are able to publish for the first time a letter from Miss Mali to Mme Levoz:

" . . . Ce matin reçu une carte de Picard me demandant l'autorisation de faire les démarches nécessaires pour faire publier 'Compensation' dans la *Société Nouvelle*. Je lui ai répondu que je lui en étais reconnaissante (sans trop d'effusion) et que je voulais justement faire la même chose, mais que j'étais charmée qu'il veuille bien le présenter, que ça aurait plus de chances ainsi. Je vois tout doucement arriver mon Picard; ça me fait joliment plaisir. Je lui ai demandé s'il voulait d'autres chapitres. Tu verras qu'il finira par me faire une préface

pour des traductions chez Gilon, à la longue. Je veux même, bien qu'il l'ait découvert inventé tout seul, Emerson, si ça le flatte. Je ne demande qu'une chose, c'est qu'il paraisse . . . Si il en était le parrain du mouvement Emerson, je veux bien être la sage-femme anonyme. Toi, tu auras été un des prophètes.

"Là-dessus je t'embrasse, enchantée de voir que 'mes enfants' commencent à se retourner par leurs propres ailes . . . Picard est un drôle de corps — qu'on le mesure petit ou grand on se trompe toujours. Capable de bonnes choses et — d'autres moins bonnes. Que diable est-ce qui lui manque?"

Finding Picard, therefore, unreliable, Mali turned to Maeterlinck for the much desired introduction to her translations which she planned to have published in book-form. Maeterlinck was delighted and promised her to write it. But he had to be prodded and often reminded of his promise. Finally, in 1894, after a notable "soirée chez Picard", Maeterlinck announced to the enthralled Mali that the essay on Emerson was completed. Immediately there appeared *Sept Essais d'Emerson*, translated by I. Will (Lacomblez, Brussels, 1894), with an introduction by Maeterlinck. It went through five editions and received wide acclaim both in France and Belgium. As is well known, the talent and prestige of Maeterlinck obscured the work of the anonymous Mali; so that many reviewers referred to Maeterlinck as the translator. The book brought Emerson many new readers. Firmin Roz, the distinguished French student of American culture, related recently that it was this essay by Maeterlinck that first attracted him to American civilization. Just before her death in 1927, Mali issued a new edition, enlarged by one essay, called *Les Huit Essais*; and she planned several public lectures on the man in whose work she had been steeped for over two score years.

We have sought to show that the genesis of the interest in Emerson during the 1890's in France and Belgium is found in Marie Mali. Today she is forgotten. She was not a creative writer. Her literary baggage included two short collections of essays and a great number of scattered articles. She preferred to remain anonymous. Her study of Emerson was unsigned. Her translations appeared under the transparent pseudonym of I. Will. She felt, she once wrote, that she, "a mere woman, was unequal to the task of adequately treating a writer of Emerson's stature." Her own genius lay in personally inspiring others to propagate his ideas. As she approached her death, however, she was sad at the prospect of permanent obscurity. In this light it is easy to understand her last wish—that on her tomb be inscribed these simple, revealing words: *Marie Mali, Disciple d'Emerson*.

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REVIEWS

QUELQUES PROBLÈMES DE LA LINGUISTIQUE

Karl Bühler, *Die Axiomatik der Sprachwissenschaft*. *Kantstudien* XXXVIII, 1933, pp. 19-90.

M. Bühler examine la linguistique en la mesurant avec les idées de Platon, les formes d'Aristote et ce que certains auteurs modernes appellent *structure*. Ce qui l'intéresse surtout dans la langue, c'est son symbolisme. La distinction entre *langue* et *parole* l'enthousiasme. Pour la comprendre, il se sert, entre autres, de la formule du behaviourisme américain, qui est: *omnis actio est reactio*. Mais cette formule a un défaut, c'est qu'elle est réversible en: *omnis reactio est actio*. Je pense que justement cette réversibilité en signifie une qualité, car ce n'est que le système universitaire, qui sépare la psychologie de la sociologie. En réalité, l'individu isolé est une fiction et la société isolée en est une autre. Il n'y a que des individus mis en contact chrono-géographique par des intérêts, des besoins mutuels et la langue comme instrument. D'après M. Bühler (p. 76), le principal objet de la linguistique serait de trouver comment ce tour de force (*Kunststück*) du renseignement mutuel (*intersubjektive Mitteilung*) a pu se développer. Je ne suis pas de son opinion. S'il s'agit de phénomènes préhistoriques, c'est à la métaphysique de les débrouiller; s'il s'agit de qualités humaines, c'est à la biologie de nous renseigner. L'objet de la linguistique, par contre, commence avec les sons et les groupes de sons symbolisant des choses et leurs rapports. En tant qu'il y aura son, il y aura phonétique,—en tant qu'il y aura symbole, donc mot, il y aura linguistique.

C'est ici que la phonologie cherche sa place: elle se propose comme objet les groupes de sons, les syllabes. Elle distingue les sons qui déterminent le sens et ceux qui ne le déterminent pas. Dans une langue, par exemple, M. Bühler trouve que les voyelles *i*, *y*, *ou* sont déterminées par leur entourage. Donc, elles ne déterminent pas le sens. M. Bühler propose de dire en ce cas, qu'elles n'ont pas de valeur diacritique (*diakritische Valenz*). Et il propose de dire que les autres sons ont une *abstraktive Relevanz*. C'est à la phonologie d'accepter ces formules ou de les répudier. Il faudra toutefois réfléchir sur *abstractif*, car tout son est concret. Mais un symbole n'est ni abstrait, ni concret. Il remplace une idée abstraite ou concrète. "Remplacement" n'est pas "abstraction". Et l'abstraction évite tout remplacement. La valeur d'un sémantème est donc symbolique et non pas abstractive.

Ainsi le son concret appartient à la phonétique. Le son-symbole, le mot, appartient à la linguistique. C'est comme s'il n'y avait pas de place pour la phonologie. Dire que le matériel de la phonologie c'est la syllabe ne va pas, parce qu'il y a des langues monosyllabiques, comme par exemple, la langue enfantine et le chinois.

Le chinois se compose d'à peu près 450 monosyllabes, différenciés en 1800 mots par quatre tons. La syllabe *i*, par exemple, prononcée sur le troisième ton

possède 65 sens différents, d'après un lexique chinois de 6800 idéogrammes. C'est pourquoi, quand les Chinois causent sérieusement, ils sont forcés d'écrire les idéogrammes dans le creux de la main, pour s'entendre. Ici, la phonologie se compléterait d'une idéographie, les sémantèmes manquant à eux seuls de force sémantique. Ainsi l'objet de la phonologie ne peut pas être la syllabe. Ce qui reste, c'est la question: Pourquoi un peuple préfère-t-il certaines syllabes en refusant d'autres? Pourquoi un peuple est-il sobre ou prolixe dans le choix de ses sémantèmes? C'est ici que la phonologie trouvera que faire.

La linguistique, par contre, commencera toujours là où le symbolisme de la langue est fixé comme principe. Ce symbolisme, dépendant de notre choix, est labile dans toutes ses objectivations, c'est-à-dire que le rapport de la chose avec l'idée et enfin de l'idée avec le terme n'est pas fixe. Voilà pourquoi, dans la science, nous ne devons pas partir de termes ou de formules, ainsi que le propose M. Bühler. Ce qui est stable, ce ne sont pas nos termes, mais les choses. C'est donc des choses qu'il faut que nous partions. Et en partant des choses, il faut nous servir de ce que M. Bally a appelé le principe d'*Univocité* dans la *Langue et la Vie*. Nous nous en servons comme d'un principe. Mais sa nature n'est pas celle d'un principe. C'est l'antidote naturel de notre labilité sémantique. *Rem tene, verba sequentur!*

Cette labilité est moins grande en Chine, grâce à l'écriture figurative, qui fixe le rapport de la chose et de l'idée plus solidement que chez nous. Mais les Chinois, eux aussi, ont eu leurs idéalistes qui ont voulu déduire la vie d'axiomes, au lieu d'induire leurs principes de la vie. Et ils racontent à ce sujet: Un homme mourut; un savant tira son éloge de quelque formulaire. Par malheur, il attrapa l'éloge d'une femme. On lui signala son erreur: "Ce n'est pas moi qui me suis trompé", répondit-il, "c'est le mort qui s'est trompé. Il aurait dû naître femme".

Charles Bally, *Linguistique Générale et Linguistique française*, Paris, 1933.

Ce qui nous frappe, en lisant ce livre amusant et instructif en même temps, c'est le nombre d'exemples français et allemands qu'on n'a lus nulle part. Ensuite, c'est la tournure originale de ces exemples. Ce ne sont pas des phrases tirées des classiques ou de quelque patois; elles sont puisées à la vie même, dans le français de tous les jours; ce sont des phénomènes linguistiques très réels et pourtant plutôt négligés par la linguistique. Phénomènes qui ont leur raison d'être, donc leur raison d'être étudiés, absolument comme tout autre phénomène. M. Bally s'explique dans son Introduction qu'il intitule "Questions de Méthode" (p. 17): "Si un état de langue, tout en étant une abstraction, plonge dans la réalité, le centre de l'étude doit se trouver dans une forme d'élocution fondamentale et moyenne, dont toutes les autres sont des irradiations. Cette forme type, c'est la langue parlée . . . Entendons-nous bien cependant, la langue parlée, elle aussi, est une abstraction."

M. Bally donne donc ici très bien l'explication de ce que j'ai observé à propos du travail de M. Bühler. Une lettre, un son sont des concrets; ils sont saisissables par la vue ou par l'ouïe. Mais un son ou une lettre ayant une signification symbolique n'est pas concret, ainsi que le dit très bien M. Bally. Toutefois, d'après mon idée, il n'est pas abstrait non plus, l'*abstrait* étant "l'idée

d'un rapport existant en réalité". Mais entre la chose et son symbole, il n'y a qu'un rapport fictif. Un symbole n'est donc pas une abstraction.

C'est en partant des *idées concrètes* qui représentent les choses saisissables par nos sens, que nous formons nos *idées abstraites*. C'est en formant les *synthèses de nos idées abstraites spéciales* que nous formons nos *idées générales*. C'est donc, après avoir étudié un certain nombre de langues que nous passons de la *linguistique spéciale* d'une langue ou d'un groupe de langues à la *Linguistique Générale*. Mais comment former la base de cette Linguistique Générale? En sociologie, Max Weber a conseillé d'observer, à côté des phénomènes européens, les phénomènes primitifs et exotiques qui leur correspondent. Mais cette proposition plutôt géographique est-elle aussi essentielle?

M. Finck est parti de la syntaxe pour analyser les différences essentielles des langues. Mais la syntaxe étant la dernière complication d'une langue, on se demande: ne faudrait-il pas partir de la source même de la formation?

La syntaxe chinoise, par exemple, se distingue foncièrement de la syntaxe des langues indo-européennes. Les Chinois le remarquent eux-mêmes en disant: les langues européennes sont plus claires que le chinois, donc pratiques, les rapports de la phrase étant fixés par des préfixes, des suffixes, des conjonctions, etc. La phrase chinoise, par contre, est pauvre en mots de rapports. Le rapport doit donc être deviné. Ainsi la phrase chinoise est plutôt impressionniste et sa tournure artistique.

Mais pourquoi en est-il ainsi? Très simplement, parce que le chinois est une langue pauvre en expressions. Il est composé de 450 mots à peu près, différenciés par 4 tons. *Et voilà la source*: il y a des langues riches en termes, et il y en a d'autres qui sont pauvres. Le "pourquoi" forme l'objet de la phonologie. Mais les conséquences de la richesse ou de la pauvreté en expressions, étudiées jusque dans la syntaxe, voilà un objet important de la Linguistique Générale. Ce que j'ai voulu dire par ces dernières lignes, c'est que le titre de M. Bally, *Linguistique Générale*, ne correspond pas à son contenu, qui ne part que d'exemples français ou allemands. En fait, les parlers de villes sont un élément indispensable de toute linguistique, mais ils ne sont pas la linguistique même. La linguistique, d'après mon idée, ne saurait se passer ni d'histoire, ni de géographie. C'est la *combinaison* de l'histoire et de la géographie, donc la méthode chrono-géographique, que l'on devrait nommer *linguistique*. En éliminer la langue écrite forme un préjugé non moins funeste que d'en éliminer la langue parlée. Pouvons-nous nous servir de la langue parlée, sans la fixer par l'écriture? Pouvons-nous ouvrir l'horizon du passé, si nous refusons les documents conservés uniquement par l'écriture?

Une linguistique qui traiterait complètement l'allemand et le français, en combinant passé et présent, langue écrite et patois parlés, ne formerait toutefois qu'une linguistique allemande et française, donc très spéciale. Ce n'est qu'en traitant, avec la même méthode, des langues non-indo-européennes qu'on entrerait régulièrement, c'est-à-dire par induction, dans le domaine de la Linguistique Générale.

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SYNCOPE AND PRONOUNS IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Ephraim Cross, *Syncope and Kindred Phenomena in Latin Inscriptions From the Parts of the Roman World Where Romance Speech Developed*, New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, 1930.

H. L. Humphreys, *A Study of Dates and Causes of Case Reduction in the Old-French Pronoun*, New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, n. d. (1932).

George L. Trager, *The Use of the Latin Demonstratives (Especially "Ille" and "Ipse") up to 600 A. D. as the Source of the Romance Article*, New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, 1932.

Dr. Cross's investigations furnish a valuable contribution toward the solution of a fundamental problem of Romance linguistics. The syncope of the penult in proparoxytones divides the *Romania* in two large groups. The tendency of the Eastern group,—Rumanian, the majority of Italian dialects and Eastern Rhaeto-Romance,—has been to preserve this middle vowel, which has been largely eliminated by the Western group. French has gone farthest in this process, Spanish standing mid-way between Italian and French. The rise of this phenomenon has been explained by most students of the problem as a result of the diversity of the Latin accent in the various sections of the Roman empire. Dr. Cross has examined inscriptions originating in all territories of the Roman world in order to find out whether the hypothesis of local divergences as to accent is borne out by actual facts. The result of this search is that syncope of the middle vowel in proparoxytones occurred in all sections of the Empire, in Hispania as well as in Dacia and in Africa, and in all Italy, including Rome, no less than in Gaul. He finds a parallel between the Latin of the Roman world and the English of the English-speaking world, and categorically declares that the "English of the future will no doubt be not a whit affected phonetically by the circumstance of its having been learned by large numbers of originally non-English-speaking peoples". The parallel seems inaccurate to the reviewer for more than one reason. Dr. Cross is fully aware of the fact that the inscriptions, owing to their restricted vocabulary, and various other circumstances, cannot supply absolutely convincing evidence; still, his findings are noteworthy. To be sure, his results are not at variance with the conclusions of P. Savj-Lopez, whom he does not quote, and who has stated that the linguistic aspect of Italy was not essentially different from that of the rest of the Empire¹. Savj-Lopez, contradicting Mohl, has stressed the tendencies of linguistic unification which were at work in the Empire. The reviewer, although he fully recognizes the value of the contribution and the painstaking diligence of its author, suspects that Dr. Cross minimizes the rôle of syncope in Italian. As a matter of fact, syncope is no negligible quantity in Italian phonology. An answer to the question whether the Latin of Italy, or very early Italian reverted to longer forms where the inscriptions show syncope (pp. 93 and 101) is readily found in C. H. Grandgent's *From Latin to Italian*², or in P. B. Guarnerio's *Fonologia Romanza*³; specifically, *popolo* is characterized by B. Wiese⁴ as a possibly learned

¹ *Le Origini Neolatine*, Hoepli, Milano, 1920, p. 151.

² Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1927, p. 56 ss.

³ Hoepli, Milano, 1918, p. 318 ss.

⁴ *Altitalienisches Elementarbuch*, C. Winter, Heidelberg, 1904, p. 26.

word. At any rate, however, the conclusion that the present differences in syncope "took place in the separate development of the Romance languages, not in the parent speech," is of lasting value.

On the basis of an imposing array of citations, taken from a considerable number of literary and non-literary texts, dating from the end of the 13th century to the end of the 16th, Dr. Humphreys studies the disappearance of the nominative of the demonstrative *cil*, and the victory of the accusative forms of the personal pronouns over their nominatives. He finds that plural *cil* was supplanted by *ceux* about the middle of the 14th century; singular *cil* likewise disappeared before the end of the same century, contrary to the general belief according to which it was in use throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. Case reduction in the personal pronoun was a longer process than in the demonstrative. Dr. Humphreys's documentation being scantier concerning the personal pronoun than the demonstrative, here is ample opportunity to follow up and to round out his investigations. At any rate, he states that the process was completed in some categories in the early 16th century, whereas in others it remained incomplete as late as the second half of the same century. In the case of the demonstrative, he ascribes the origin of the levelling process to the analogical ascendancy of the noun declension. A similar force, though to a lesser extent, was at work in the personal pronoun. Still, he attributes the decisive factor to the absolute use of the pronoun, which became widely spread in the 15th and 16th centuries, a period which K. Vossler aptly characterized as "rich in temperament"⁵. An interesting by-product of Dr. Humphreys's investigations is the statement that non-literary documents of the Middle Ages were nearer the popular speech than literary works, whereas, well in keeping with the doctrines of the *Pléiade*, the tendency is reversed in texts of the 16th century.

Dr. Trager attempts to define the evolution of the uses of the demonstratives in Latin up to the sixth century in order to trace the origin of the definite article in Romance languages. He has studied the functions of the demonstratives in texts selected from various periods of Latin, Caesar, the *Cena Trimalchionis*, the *Bellum Africanum*, the *Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta*, Tacitus, Tertullian, St. Augustine, the Vulgate, Boethius, some sermons of St. Caesarius of Arles, St. Benedict's *Regula*, and Gregory of Tours. The selection is copious and judicious but subject to criticism. So e. g., St. Augustine's *Confessions* and *De Civitate Dei* are treated on terms of equality with his sermons and epistles. On the strength of Norden's opinion⁶,—whom Dr. Trager does not quote at all,—the reviewer ventures to state that the sermons of the Bishop of Hippo might have modified Dr. Trager's results. It is regrettable that he is unacquainted with the *Patristic Studies* of the Catholic University of America, among which he might have found many a valuable aid in his work. In general, the statements of Dr. Trager do not seem to be based on a sufficient number of texts. An examination of texts different from his selections would have yielded different results. Let me point out at random two passages of St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* in which *iste* was actually and unmistakably

⁵ *Frankreichs Kultur im Spiegel seiner Sprachentwicklung*, C. Winter, Heidelberg, 1921, p. 284.

⁶ *Die antike Kunstprosa*, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig, 1898, 2. Band, p. 621.

employed in the later, weakened sense of simple *bic*⁷, a usage which Dr. Trager has not chanced upon in his selections from St. Augustine. Dr. Trager's conclusions do not widely differ from what has been the generally accepted conception of the evolution of the demonstratives. He attributes the growing use of *ille* in late Latin "to an emotional need on the part of the several writers to be exact and emphatic." This statement seems incomplete to the reviewer: *ille* evidently became a *Modewort*, and it wore out naturally as such words always do. It was used for the sake of emphasis so profoundly as to finally lose its force, and was then employed indiscriminately, without any emphasis at all. More interesting is the conclusion that the Romance definite article could not have risen as such until after the end of the seventh century, and that the increasing use of *ille* originated in the democratization of language and literature brought about by Christianity. Dr. Trager's work is highly commendable for its painstaking accuracy. Unfortunately, his results cannot be regarded as final since he could not have possibly covered the vast field of his investigations all by himself. Until the syntax, vocabulary, and style of each individual author are completely scrutinized by monographs, such studies, though valuable, are bound to remain somewhat fragmentary.

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THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CHANSON DE ROLAND

Robert Fawtier, *La Chanson de Roland, Etude historique*, Paris, Boccard, 1933, 214 pp.

Once more a historian takes up the question of the origin of the *Chanson de Roland* and of the *chansons de geste* in general. M. Fawtier is an avowed follower of Ferdinand Lot in these matters. He esteems that, to bridge the gap between the historical battle of Roncevaux and the appearance of the *Chanson de Roland*, "il ne nous reste d'autre alternative que de reprendre le chemin qui ramène à la vieille théorie de la transmission de siècle en siècle."¹

Certainly M. Fawtier presents the newest and most plausible exposition of this theory, accommodated to the latest discoveries of scholarship. The kernel of the problem, as it exists today, is to account for the mode of transmission and development of the *chanson de geste* from 840, approximate date of the latest testimony that the events of Roncevaux were still remembered,² to the beginning of the 11th century, when the *Fragment de la Haye* gives witness to an already epic tradition concerning wars of Charlemagne against the Infidel.³

Thus far at least, there can at present be agreement between Fawtier and Bédier. Unfortunately, when Bédier attacks the uninterrupted transmission theory, he chooses its earliest and most improbable form: "on s'est borné à dire que des 'chanteurs' enthousiastes durent 'chanter' Floovant dès le temps de Dago-

⁷ S. Aurelii Augustini . . . *De Doctrina Christiana Liber Quartus*, A. Commentary, with a Revised Text, Introd. and Transl. by Sister Thérèse Sullivan, Cath. Univ. of America (Patristic Studies XXIII), 1930, pp. 46, 49.

¹ F. Lot, *Romania*, LIII, 65, cited by Fawtier, p. 180.

² Cf. Bédier, *Chanson de Roland Commentée*, p. 4.

³ *Romania*, LVIII, 190-206.

bert, et 'chanter' Roland dès le temps de Charlemagne."⁴ According to Fawtier, this literary tradition did not begin until well into the 9th century. On the other hand, when Fawtier refutes the Bédier school, he not only presents his opponent's case in a necessarily unfavorable light, but he attributes to Bédier opinions which the latter expressly denies. According to Bédier, we are told (p. 8), the first *chansons de geste* were written at the end of the 11th or at the beginning of the 12th century. Bédier's own words are sufficient to defend him from the accusation of holding such an extraordinary opinion: "Les *chansons de geste* jouissaient donc déjà d'un crédit solide, établi disons depuis 1050 au plus tard."⁵ Again (Fawtier, p. 9), we are told that according to Bédier "L'épopée en France débute par des chefs-d'œuvre, la *Chanson de Roland*, la *Chanson de Guillaume*. Son apogée coïnciderait avec sa naissance, son déclin commencerait avec celle-ci." Bédier, however, writes:⁶ "la *Chanson de Roland* n'est pas un commencement, mais . . . son auteur a hérité de plus anciens chanteurs de geste l'essentiel de ses procédés narratifs, de sa rhétorique et de sa poétique." And a little further:⁷ "C'est à mi-chemin entre ces deux dates (1050-1150) que paraît la *Chanson de Roland*. Elle ne représente qu'un moment, qui est loin d'être le moment initial, de ce mouvement de création poétique, multiple et un."

Bédier certainly never thought that the *Chanson de Guillaume* was a beginning any more than the *Chanson de Roland*. "La *Chanson de Guillaume* fait allusion à un *Couronnement de Louis*, à un *Charroi de Nîmes*, à une *Prise d'Orange*, à maints autres poèmes où déjà l'histoire poétique des Narbonnais se développait largement, et que nous ne connaissons plus que par des remaniements de basse époque."⁸

Despite the unduly accentuated conflict of opinions between the Bédier school and the traditionalist school, there is really agreement in the final conclusion about the period of the creation of the *Chanson de Roland*. Thus, at the end of his book, Fawtier asserts: "L'admirable poème qu'est la *Chanson de Roland* n'est pas né avant le milieu du XIe siècle, peut-être même seulement vers la fin de celui-ci, mais des éléments en existaient auparavant."⁹

Bédier would probably have no quarrel with this opinion. His own conclusion is practically identical: "Assurément, entre le poème de Turold et les plus anciennes fictions sur Charlemagne et sur Roland, bien des choses sont interposées. Mais la question est de savoir si ce ne fut pas assez de cent années de ce XIe siècle, qui, dans les divers domaines de l'action et de la pensée, fut l'âge créateur entre tous."¹⁰

There is, then, approximate accord on the epics of the 11th century and on the memory of the historical bases of these epics up to about the year 840. The question is: What went on during the second half of the 9th and the entire 10th century? Here texts are completely lacking and little can be argued from their silence one way or another. Is it sufficient to believe with Bédier

⁴ Bédier, *Légendes Épiques*, III, p. 448.

⁵ Bédier, *Comm.*, p. 61.

⁶ *Comm.*, p. 61.

⁷ P. 62.

⁸ *Comm.*, p. 61.

⁹ P. 210.

¹⁰ *Légendes Épiques*, III, p. 448.

that there remained after the historical events a few local legends centered on monuments, a tomb, or a relic, and that when the *moment propice* arrived, under the impulsion of the 11th century crusades into Spain and subsequent pilgrimages, these legends were transformed by clerics and jongleurs into what we know as *chansons de geste*? Or must we suppose with Fawtier that the historical tradition of the battle of Roncevaux was perpetuated by "récits" which became "à une date ultérieure l'objet de chants populaires, de complaintes, de ballades," and that "Pendant le Xe siècle, peut-être sous l'influence de la crise dynastique, de ces ballades commence à sortir peu à peu un poème de taille plus ample, d'inspiration plus élevée"?¹¹

Here we have the unfortunate goal of the historic questionings of Fawtier. We are to return to the old German romantic mysticism. Poems evolve gradually; the concept of the poet disappears. It is regrettable that the author has chosen to end his book with a quotation from Anatole France: "La foule ignorante crée le divin avec une patience auguste, avec la lenteur des forces naturelles."

It is impossible within the narrow limits of a review to go over in detail all the interesting points discussed by M. Fawtier. By his own admission, he does not pretend to originality. The book is intended to be a sort of *mise au point* from a historian's point of view of the enormous Roland literature. As such, we are given an introductory *exposé* of the problem of origins, a summary of the different versions of the *Chanson*, a discussion of the date of the Oxford version, which ends in prudently negative results, an investigation of the alleged "attaches topographiques" between the Road of St. James and the *Chanson de Roland*, and an estimate of the importance of the defeat of 778, which, with the aid of a good deal of imagination, Fawtier turns into a national disaster.

There are certain small errors of detail that are annoying in a book that pretends to be a résumé and criticism of previous scholarship rather than an original work. We are told, for instance, that "Nous utiliserons pour sa numérotation et pour son texte l'édition de M. Joseph Bédier", but we are also told that the Oxford manuscript contains 3998 lines divided into 298 *laissez*, whereas Bédier's edition has 4002 lines in 291 *laissez*. It is true that Gröber's edition, in the *Bibliotheca Romanica*, divides the text into 298 *laissez*, but since Fawtier announces his intention to follow Bédier's numbering, he should have done so. Again, we are told that the V⁴ version of Venice has 6912 lines whereas it has only 6012. King Haakon VII of Norway would be surprised to learn that the *Karlamagnussaga*, a translation of several Old French epics, was executed for him between 1230 and 1250. The king reigning between 1230 and 1250 was Haakon IV Haakonson.

These and other slips of the sort, while not very serious in a scholarly article, are more so in a general introductory book which will presumably be read by students in lieu of the enormous literature which it resumes.

The book's main interest and utility lies in the fact that it is a handy and clear summary of the secondary Roland material presented in a fairly complete and critical, if strongly biased manner. It is voluntarily limited to the historical aspects of the question. It still leaves almost everything to be said about the

¹¹ Pp. 211-2.

Chanson de Roland interpreted as a living piece of literature representative of a given state of mind at a given period.

JEAN MISRAHI

NEW YORK

SCIENTIFIC LIFE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne Religieux Minime, publiée par Mme Paul Tannery, éditée et annotée par Cornelis de Waard avec la collaboration de René Pintard, Tome I, 1617-1627, Paris, G. Beauchesne et ses Fils, 1933, LXI + 666 pp.

This welcome volume will sooner or later find its way to the desk of every worker in the literature, science, or philosophy of the earlier part of the 17th century. The name of Marin Mersenne is forever coming up in the correspondence and bibliography of that era of dying traditions and new ideas, and the mere mass of the material concerning him has attracted almost as many scholars as it has discouraged the historians of culture. In the last half-century, A. Favaro, Tamizey de Larroque, and F. Strowski, among others, have given something more than passing attention to his work and influence; but they, as others, sought out no more than was necessary to the illustration of the subject of their chief interest, Galileo, Peiresc, or Pascal. One may safely say that Mersenne has been neglected beyond his deserts; the part he played in the development of the encyclopedic spirit in France, the weight he lent to the sceptical tradition, the authority he contributed to those who sought royal or ministerial protection for the dream of an academy devoted to the advancement of the arts and sciences,—these unintentional but inevitable products of his enormous activity do not as yet appear in their true place in the history of the movement of ideas in the classic age in France.

Even before he undertook the task of presenting a complete edition of Descartes, the lamented Paul Tannery was contemplating a collective edition of the correspondence of Mersenne. From this work, in his eyes more significant for the ideas and activity of the age of Louis XIII than the letters of Descartes, he was dissuaded by reasons of official and public demand, and the numerous notes and papers he had amassed were left too prematurely to his widow. This volume is thus the first fruition of a work that has been under active prosecution for more than 50 years, and it is with simple justice and affectionate piety that Madame Tannery has dedicated it to the memory of her husband. We are told that the correspondence will necessitate some ten volumes in all, and that we may expect the series to be complete in perhaps eight or nine years.

The purpose of the editors is not only to present the known letters of and to Mersenne, but also to follow his relations with contemporaries as indicated by extracts selected from other documents of the period, completing and correlating the whole by an admirable system of notes and extended historical comments. Every need of the reader or student is foreseen and provided for; no useful sidelight neglected, no detail forgotten, no name left untraced in the best authorities for the less-known parts of 17th century society. Many of the notes extend into compact, but elaborately detailed, essays on little-known phases of the life and thought of the circles in which Mersenne lived. Such, for example, are, at pp. xliii-xliv of the *Note sur la Vie de Mersenne*,

a brief and accurate account of the assemblies of scientists in Paris from about 1625 to 1651, and on pp. 43-45, a summary description of the first scientific acquaintances made by Mersenne on his arrival in Paris about the end of 1619, giving many details from scattered sources of the lives of the mathematician, Claude Mydorge, and of Jacques Mauduit, the musician who had been a member of the famous Académie du Palais founded by Jean-Antoine de Baif. Still other notes deal with the science and traditional learning of the time, discussing and describing in detail the researches of Kepler, Mydorge, and Descartes into the refraction and reflection of light falling on a curved surface (pp. 414-415), and the music of the French Renaissance in the notes to a letter of the Rouennais Titelouze of March, 1622 (pp. 78-83).

More important than these footnotes is the careful and sympathetic life of Mersenne prefixed to the volume. Here in 37 lucid pages is outlined the career of the man to whom perhaps more than to anyone else is due the spreading of the critical spirit among the lower clergy and the gentry of the earlier part of the 17th century, and the preparation of the ground for the general acceptance of the method of the natural sciences. Drawing on the *Vie* by Hilarion de Coste, the *Diarium Patrum, Fratrum, Sororum Ordinis Minimorum* of René Thuillier, the *Vie de Descartes* by Adrien Baillet, the publications of Mersenne and his large and varied circle of friends, and on the correspondence itself, we have here an account which supplants the partial studies of the past, and prepares the way for the detailed and definitive biography which must sooner or later follow. Born in 1588, Mersenne witnessed the reigns of Henri IV, Louis XIII, and the first years of Louis XIV; he saw the Renaissance become the classic age. His own work began as a pious contribution to the religious controversies of his day; his curiosity in questions of the theory of music brought him to see the numerous errors in historical and scientific fact perpetuated by the acceptance of uncriticized tradition. The final result seems to have been the production of a body of literature of sceptical tendency hardly to be equalled before the end of the century. In the course of his studies he was led to conceive and execute with his friends numerous experiments necessary for the verification or correction of popular beliefs; the results of these are mostly set forth in his *Traité de l'Harmonie universelle*, the great work which took ten years of his life, and which is central to his maturer thought. The explanation of his findings led directly to the exposition of the physico-mathematical method; and this method, because its end is not the establishment of a closed system of undisputed truths, opens the way for a larger coöperation of scholars without distinction of creed or race. Of these implications of his work, Mersenne was fully aware; that he strove to lend actuality to these tendencies is the testimony not only of such contemporaries as Pascal and Gassendi, but of the letters in this first volume.

From the very beginning of this correspondence we find Mersenne profiting from the experience of physicians, lawyers, and practitioners of various arts. The editors note (p. 13) that, "il fit . . . pénétrer dans sa pensée et son enseignement, l'air du dehors; ce fut l'aurore de sa grande activité scientifique." For the history of culture in France it was more than a merely personal development; it was a sign of the ferment that was to produce the Académie des Sciences, the *Eloges* of Fontenelle, and the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot. Through

this volume Mersenne's curiosity steadily widens, expanding from simple questions concerning the occult powers of natural objects to the discussion, in his *Quaestiones Celeberrimae in Genesim*, of the great and pressing problems of general cosmogony which may be solved only by a coöperative investigation of the characteristics of the known world. The rational defense of orthodox Christianity had led at last to the proposal to set up recognized homes of scepticism and independent research.

The letters and documents are presented with the minimum of modernization in chronological order, preceded by notices descriptive of the document used and the personages concerned, and followed by a copious commentary on the subject-matter. A double series of footnotes gives the chief peculiarities of spelling and the arrangement on the page of the manuscript, and brief notes of identification or explanation of difficult passages. There are two catalogues of the 86 letters in this volume, chronological and alphabetic, and an index of the proper names cited completes the apparatus offered the student. With such aids, it may seem ungracious to ask more; but already I have felt the need of an index of the principal topics elaborated, musical theory, the scientific academies, the Rosicrucians, and various discussions of mathematics and physics, as well as of a list of the references to the publications of Mersenne himself. So much that is new and based on thorough search of the books of that age should not be hidden away in the notes to a very miscellaneous collection of letters.

There is little to criticize in the presentation of the text; on p. 633 note 3 seems to be missing, and the ends of the first two lines of text on p. 634 appear to have been mixed, with the loss of a letter or two. The plates have been selected with care to show the chief relics associated with Mersenne, and to aid the reader in his comprehension of the difficulties faced by the editors. Six of the most interesting letters of the volume have been reproduced in facsimile, and, on comparison, Mersenne's claim to be the worst penman of the age is abundantly justified.

HARCOURT BROWN

NEW YORK

A FRENCH DRAMATIST OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Laurence Harvey Skinner, *Collin d'Harleville, Dramatist*, New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., 1933, 202 pp.

Collin d'Harleville (1755-1806), the dramatist who led the neo-classic revival at the close of the 18th century, deserves the extended treatment which Dr. Skinner has given him in this dissertation. For although this author is now forgotten, he was one of the most admired and respected comic playwrights in the France of his day. Moreover, besides Fabre d'Eglantine's *Le Philinte de Molière*, the only other comedy of this period worth citing today is Collin's *Le Vieux Célibataire*. As a matter of fact, when we survey the French Revolutionary epoch, we find very few plays of intrinsic value. However, we need not be surprised at this scarcity of dramatic literature of merit. While the French Revolution brought many a change in things social and political, yet it hardly made any innovation in the theatre. Many pieces produced then were simply a pretext for putting on the stage a discussion full of allusions to political

events and current topics. Many others were but Italian *scenarii*, adapted to French usage, in which the personifications remained the servile imitators of their Italian prototypes. The theatres of the Boulevards carried on the tradition of the theatres of the fairs.

Undisturbed by these various currents, the gentle and kindly Collin kept up the tradition of the "bonne comédie", the comedy of character patterned on Molière and his continuators. Thus, in *L'Inconstant* (1786) he depicts a young man of veering nature, who flits from place to place and easily succumbs to the charms of every fair enchantress. In *L'Optimiste* (1788),—which is said to have been a portrait of the author's father,—he pictures an optimist who keeps on looking at the brighter side of life, in spite of the numerous misfortunes which befall him. In *Les Châteaux en Espagne* (1789) he portrays a day-dreamer who seems to live in a world of illusions. Similarly, in about a dozen other plays, he sketches for us the traits of additional new figures. It is, however, clear that characters such as these are hardly true to life. As a result, the reading of one of Collin's plays (for, of course, they are no longer produced on the stage), although leaving a certain pleasing impression upon us, furnishes a very vague notion of personality. In one case only has the author shown any skill in painting human nature. This is found in *Le Vieux Célibataire* (1792), his masterpiece, in which Madame Evrard, the scheming and insinuating housekeeper, represents a living type. Likewise, another of the author's weaknesses becomes apparent in the same piece. Many of the situations are not created logically by the characters and seem to lack motivation. Why should M. Dubriage, the old bachelor, for example, accept the contents of his nephew's letters second-hand from the versions of his artful housekeeper without ever being curious to read any of the letters for himself?

If Collin d'Harleville had these limitations, how can we then explain his success which was proportionately great as compared with that of other plays given in his day? (Cf. tables pp. 187-89). Dr. Skinner gives us a threefold answer to this query. He states (p. 175) that Collin's plays contained "certain stylistic features and achievements, especially a glittering and 'naïve' wit; they chimed in with a wide demand for the stage as a 'school of virtue', and, finally, public affection for the man himself was an important factor."

As evidence of the spread of Collin's reputation in foreign countries, Dr. Skinner also gives us a list of the translations of Collin's plays. As this list, for the most part, is compiled from the translations found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, I add here a few additional titles, found elsewhere, which apparently did not come to Dr. Skinner's attention. *L'Optimiste* and *Les Châteaux en Espagne* were translated into Italian by D. E. Govean, Turin, 1831 (*L'ottimista* and *I castelli in aria*), and into Swedish (*Optimisten eller den förnöjsamme*, 1816, and *Slott i lusten, eller Våra inbillningar*, 1794). Collin's posthumous work, *Les Querelles des deux frères, ou La Famille bretonne* (1808), was also translated into Danish by N. T. Bruun as *Familien i Bretagne eller Tvistigbederne* (1812).

Perhaps Dr. Skinner's desire to be objective may account for a somewhat monotonous manner of presentation found in his book. The author seems, at any rate, to have kept himself remote and aloof from his subject. He has, how-

ever, done a useful piece of work in giving us a study of Collin's life and works in a convenient volume. Furthermore, by introducing newspaper reviews of the day, he enables us to measure the contemporary reaction to each play.

ALFRED IACUZZI

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A PRECURSOR OF JAMES JOYCE

Edouard Dujardin, *Le Monologue intérieur*, Paris, A. Messein, 1931.

In 1887 M. Dujardin published *Les Lauriers sont coupés*, (definitive edition 1924), by which—he, Valéry Larbaud and others affirm—was created *le monologue intérieur*. This book, then, must be considered as “une des Sources formelles d’*Ulysse*.” There is no little confusion among critics as to the exact significance of the term. It is found in Bourget’s *Cosmopolis* (1897), but the contemporary sense seems due to Larbaud. In general one is forced to the conclusion that there has been more enthusiasm and contempt for the new plaything than critical acumen in determining its value or even its sense. M. Dujardin, who has arrived at a certain precision, renders real service. “Le monologue intérieur est, dans l’ordre de la poésie, le discours sans auditeur et non prononcé—par lequel un personnage exprime sa pensée la plus intime, la plus proche de l’inconscient, antérieurement à toute organisation logique, c’est-à-dire en son état naissant, par le moyen de phrases directes réduites au minimum syntaxial, de façon à donner l’impression ‘tout venant’ !” (Confusion will be avoided if we note carefully *impression tout venant* and not *pensée tout venant*.) As for poetry: “Il nous est, en tout cas, devenu impossible d’accorder la qualité poétique à une œuvre où intervient le raisonnement et qui n’émane pas directement des profondeurs du subconscient.”

“De la musique avant toute chose” said Verlaine in his *Art Poétique*, and, remembering this, we need not be surprised at finding M. Dujardin refer to the influence of Wagner. “A l’état pur, le motif wagnérien est une phrase isolée qui comporte toujours une signification émotionnelle, mais qui n’est pas reliée logiquement à celles qui précèdent et à celles qui suivent, et c’est en cela que le monologue intérieur en procède. De même que le plus souvent une page de Wagner est une succession de motifs non développés dont chacun exprime un mouvement d’âme, le monologue intérieur est une succession de phrases courtes dont chacun exprime également un mouvement d’âme, avec cette ressemblance qu’elles ne sont pas reliées les unes aux autres suivant un ordre rationnel mais suivant un ordre purement émotionnel, en dehors de tout arrangement intellectualisé.”

Armed with this definition, M. Dujardin distinguishes between “le monologue intérieur” and “le monologue psychologique, dramatique ou intime” used by Dostoievsky, Browning, Poe and others. All these aim at coördination and logical coherence; they explain rationally the trend of thought or emotion and often give only a résumé. Now “la nouveauté essentielle qu’a apportée le monologue intérieur consiste en ce qu’il a pour objet d’évoquer le flux ininterrompu des pensées qui traversent l’âme du personnage, au fur et à mesure qu’elles naissent sans en expliquer l’enchaînement logique, et en donnant l’impression d’un ‘tout venant’ Ce qui est propre au monologue intérieur,

ce n'est pas l'absence de choix, c'est que le choix n'est pas fait sous le signe de la logique rationnelle."

M. Dujardin then proceeds to discuss the historical origins of the movement. He finds them in the symbolism of Mallarmé and Rimbaud, who "comprirent la poésie comme l'expression de la vie intérieure." They sought "la réalité essentielle" and found it untainted in "l'inconscient." M. Dujardin adds: "Nous fûmes ceux qui libérèrent (*sic*) la poésie du joug du rationalisme." The final chapter discusses the use of the *monologue intérieur* by our contemporaries.

The book is essential for an accurate understanding of one phase of recent psychological literature. One may, however, differ with M. Dujardin in regard to the historical origins of the trend toward the subconscious and the irrational. Why forget J. J. Rousseau's efforts to get away from the rational—(the man who reflects is a depraved animal)—and is not this remark from the *Confessions* a clear forerunner of the cult of the subconscious: "O si l'on pouvoit tenir registre des rêves d'un fiévreux, quelles grandes et sublimes choses on verroit sortir quelquefois de son délire?" The young peasant whom Goethe met, who was so happy when he was in the madhouse and unconscious of everything, Ernest Dowson who writes a poem *To One in Bedlam*, and all the line of aesthetic opium eaters, are they not tarred with the same brush? The origin of Rousseau's first discourse, if we accept his own account, was in a kind of trance. What he was able to write down afterward were only *disiecta membra* of his great and poetic vision. Joubert, who called the Romanticists "les amants du délire", remarked that Rousseau had his talent "dans la folie." One may also recommend to those seeking ancestors for the cult of the unconscious and of the irrational the chapter on *Romantic Duplication and Psychology* in G. Brandes' *The Romantic School in Germany*.

In his last chapter M. Dujardin refers to the *Nuit Kurde* of J. R. Bloch as having introduced a novelty akin to the *monologue intérieur*. "Saad et Mirzo disant une chose des lèvres, en pensant une autre avec l'esprit, en rêvant une troisième sans le savoir", le conteur . . . dispose les six textes les uns au-dessous des autres, de façon que le lecteur les embrasse d'un seul coup d'œil." One might note that Balzac took the first two steps in the conversation between Mme de Listomère and Troubert in *Le Curé de Tours*. Balzac remarks that the caricaturists often amused themselves with this device. So true is it that there is nothing new under the sun.

BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE

REED COLLEGE

MADRID IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Charles E. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid, 1750-1800*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, XIII + 483 pp.

Just when the need to lay more stress on the study of Spanish civilization, in order to understand better Spanish literature, is being felt more generally in this country and when the 18th century is attracting more attention in our college and university classes, Professor Kany places at the disposal of both professors and students of Spanish a volume replete with information about the society of the second half of the 18th century. This information has been garnered, as the author states in his preface, from three sources, namely, ar-

chives (municipal records, laws, decrees, and other equally authentic records), reports of travelers or other individuals sojourning in Spain as well as the more faithful and less exaggerated *sainetes* of Ramón de la Cruz, and, finally, "the more exaggerated *sainetes* and . . . many other forms of satiric writings, often heightened to the point of caricature". The author has tried to use mainly material of the first source, and to that extent the book is strictly historical, yet he has found it necessary to present "many intimate glimpses of life and manners" found only in the second and third sources. But it is precisely the material gathered together from the second and third sources that lends color and vigor to Professor Kany's pictures of Madrid society of the late 18th century. Much is gained in atmosphere thus created and nothing is lost in scholarly accuracy, for, after all, the work is carefully documented at every step and the reader can easily "discover the basis of any statement made".

The study opens with a careful and detailed archaeological reconstruction of the city of Madrid, beginning with the walls and gates and proceeding inward to the streets and squares, where social life converged. Especially interesting is the colorful life presented by the Puerta del Sol, Plaza Mayor, and Plazuela de la Cebada. Next, are passed in review court life, food, household furniture, the guilds with their throttling hold on individual enterprise, and then, perhaps the most interesting part of the book, social types, dress, and amusements. The student of literature will find the chapter on the theatres most illuminating.

The book contains 99 illustrations, including plans, and a facsimile of the *Diario de Madrid* of May 2, 1790. The illustrations alone will be of infinite value to the student of Spanish literature and civilization.

A full bibliography of the subject treated and an adequate index complete the volume and add to its value and usefulness.

Professor Kany has collected and made easily accessible a rich store of information indispensable for the interpretation of references not only in 18th century literature (by using it *in reverse*, so to speak, it becomes an excellent commentary on the *sainetes* of Ramón de la Cruz), but in 17th, 19th, and 20th century literature as well. Many of the institutions described were already in existence in the 17th century. The arrangement of the social groups in the *corrales* and their respective reputations (that of the *mosqueteros*, for example) and their influence in the development of the drama in Spain form a case in point. Opposite page 56 is an illustration of the Puerta del Sol, showing the Church of the Buen Suceso and the Mariblanca fountain, which will make clear many a reference in 19th century literature. On page 394 is mentioned a superstition that makes clearer and more interesting to the student of 20th century literature the curious treatment accorded to a picture of Saint Anthony by the courtesan Lolita in Pérez de Ayala's *Troteras y danzaderas*. These are only typical examples. It is also interesting to note that critics of Spanish art in the 18th century (p. 352) held the same opinion of it as is voiced by Pérez de Ayala in *Troteras*, namely, that it is impromptu, that it lacks study and preparation.

This study palpitates (as any study of the 18th century must) with the struggle of the people of Spain to adjust themselves to the new ideas that were

abroad in Europe. The struggle for adjustment created strange companionships; the masses joined forces with certain reactionary nobles against a liberal element composed of certain other nobles and the intellectuals. The issue over the acceptance of the new French ideas had not been settled in Spain when the wave of nationalism joined the forces of Romanticism to sweep liberalism and universality into discard.

I should not like to leave the impression that Professor Kany's study would interest the specialist only. Quite the contrary is true. The layman and the student of history and sociology will find it both profitable and interesting. The author has translated every Spanish term so that all may read and enjoy vigorous pictures of a society that wished to be blasé and sophisticated, but that still spat upon the floor and still bore the discomfort of a well-populated head.

CHARLES B. QUALIA

TEXAS TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE

FLORENCIO SANCHEZ AND THE ARGENTINE THEATRE

Ruth Richardson, *Florencio Sánchez and the Argentine Theatre*, New York, Instituto de les Españas, 1933, 243 pp.

An acceptable addition to the number of critical works on Spanish-American authors is found in the above-mentioned study of Miss Richardson. Even in the Hispanic world Sánchez' glory suffered for a time a slight diminution, but only to blaze forth again and continue in full splendor until this day, with signs of certain immortality. As for North Americans, most of us have yet to hear of him; and it is probable that this study of his dramas will influence many to become acquainted with his morbid, but puissant, genius.

The present work contains a helpful résumé of the history of the Argentine theatre, 1747-1900; a life of Sánchez; a chapter devoted to the discussion of his works; a brief (and not wholly convincing) chapter on the "ideology" of the dramatist; a chapter on Sánchez, the "dramatic artist;" and an analysis of his contribution to the "National Theatre." The Appendix has a very good working Bibliography and a list of the Spanish-American authors cited in the preceding pages.

The reviewer stands somewhat perplexed before this book. Was it Miss Richardson's main purpose to establish the relation of Sánchez to Argentine letters merely? Was it to summarize the works of Sánchez? Was it to show how he influenced an amorphous theatrical partnership, which is styled in these pages now "the National Theatre", now "the *Ríoplatense* Theatre", now "the Argentine?" I suspect the answer is found in an affirmative to the two latter conjectures. There is, however, too frequent occasion given the unwary reader of this thesis to suppose that : 1) Sánchez is an Argentine; 2) Uruguayan social conditions could not have inspired much of his work, whereas the truth is rather that the Uruguayan claim on several of his dramas, including, of course, *M'bijo el doctor*, is apparent; 3) either there is no genuinely Uruguayan theatre (and what would Samuel Blixen and V. Pérez Petit say to that?) or that "*Ríoplatense*", "National," and "Argentine" (as applied to the drama) are synonyms.

On this third point Miss Richardson is not clear. On p. 220 she says: "In matters of the theatre I have made no attempt to separate the actual contributions of the Uruguayans and Argentinians, considering their theatre 'one and inseparable, *Rioplatense*'". As, however, on the very same page she talks of the "evolution of the *Argentine* (itals. mine) theatre", she is seen to be inconsistent. I quite agree with Miss Richardson in not wishing, from this distance, to assign too much importance to local rivalries. As a careful student, however, she is aware that such rivalries exist. Uruguayans are not simply Argentines *allende el Plata*; and their dramas may show forth the fact. Why not make the differentiation clearly, then, stating in unequivocal fashion after that, that the present study limits itself to conditions in *Argentina*? Alberto Zum Felde speaks of "el teatro argentino del uruguayo F. Sánchez." This has in it a practical suggestion.

A more serious objection, which can be made to this book as the fruit of advanced study, is that it has by no means exhausted the sources, the materials of Sánchez himself, or the influence of the dramatist on his contemporaries and successors. I am not referring to the chapters on "The Argentine Theatre" and "Sánchez' Contribution to the National Theatre," to the writing of which the author has brought great zeal and some excellent individual ideas. I mean rather this, that even the critics themselves for the most part have in their writings chosen an artificial, Old World, un-American point of departure. What would Sánchez himself have said of these stiff censors, many of whom have the ribbon of the Legion of Honor in view and write as write the chroniclers of *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*? His comment may easily be imagined! This Europeanized style of self-called criticism does Spanish-American letters a deal of harm. Effective criticism there should not bow the knee to France, and it should have more than a tincture of both sociology and psychology. To treat Argentine or Uruguayan literature as entities, related to but not wholly identified with French or Russian literature, requires that the writer possess sufficient ethnology to treat racial origins (for example, as they affect the action in *La Gringa*), a broad grasp of the land's political and social history, and, lastly, what the national critics so frequently start with—familiarity with comparative literature. It goes without saying that philological expertness is also demanded. One of the chief reasons why certain critics write so ineffectively of Sánchez is that they hold linguistics in contempt. Speaking the selfsame dialect that many characters speak in Sánchez' dramas, they are blind and deaf to its literary utility and charm, propriety or impropriety. Living in the forest, they cannot see it for the trees. The lack of full discussion of gauchesque, Italian and *bas fonds* terms in the works of Sánchez is regrettable in the present work.

Miss Richardson's familiarity with contemporary *Rioplatense* critics of Sánchez—Roxlo, Rojas, Zum Felde, Rohde, Vázquez Cey, Giusti (why is this name so consistently misspelled throughout the book?)—is commendable. We may, perhaps, be permitted to ask why she says practically nothing about critics outside the River Plate region, such as Colín and Jiménez Rueda of Mexico. The latter's *Bajo la cruz del sur* (Mexico, 1922) contains a thoughtful chapter on the author of *La Gringa*. Sánchez has, also, been written on by European critics. One may mention the studies of F. Contreras in the *Mercure de France* (*vide* his *Esprit de l'Amérique espagnole*, Paris, 1931); Juan-Pablo Echagüe

et le Développement des Relations franco-argentine, by various authors (Paris, 1929); the article by Georges Pillement in *La Revue bleue* of July 21, 1928; and another by Prof. Raymond Ronze, of the Sorbonne, on Argentine literature in *La Revue des Deux Mondes* (February, 1928). In Pillement's article is a very fair appraisal of the great contribution of the lamented Roberto Payró, a contemporary of Sánchez, on whom Miss Richardson has but one line.

Another contemporary of Sánchez, Gregorio Laferrère, is apparently more noteworthy in the eyes of French critics, who discuss Sánchez, than in Miss Richardson's. I wish to add another name, that of Víctor Pérez Petit. His works have been produced on both sides of the Plata. A comparison of *Yorick* with *El pasado* or *Nuestros hijos* would have been most instructive. But why stop there? Carlos Schaefer Gallo is an excellent Argentine dramatist, whose racial problem, *El gaucho judío* (1913), can be compared with *La Gringa*; Belisario Roldán wrote *Los contagios* (1915) whose similarity in certain respects to Giacosa's *Come le foglie* is as remarkable as that of Sánchez' *En familia*. F. Defilippis Novoa produced a drama entitled *Una vida*, which offers more than one striking resemblance to Sánchez' *Un buen negocio*. Nor are opportunities for such comparisons limited to the River Plate dramatists. There are Chileans and Mexicans....

Let us pass to personal relationships of the dramatist. Some who read the present work will wonder why there is no space devoted to Sánchez' relations, personal and literary, with Ricardo Rojas, José Ingenieros and Alberto Ghirardo, whose *Alma gaucha* is well worthy of treatment in connection with Sánchez' gauchesque works.

However, neither Rojas nor Ingenieros wrote dramas. Sánchez did. We expect his analyst, therefore, to adopt the technique of Sainte-Beuve, "faire le siège de l'auteur." We need, in English, a spiritual biography of Sánchez. His literary "curve", the ascent of his expanding genius, should be plotted in act, scene and line of his plays, through multiple citations from him, not from his critics. This leads us directly to the appreciation of his style. Due praise having been given to his sociological theses, Florencio Sánchez is supremely an impressionist—realistic, yes, but romantic—romantic in action, staging, and dialogue. (How can an anti-representational lot of critics adequately appreciate him?) The present writer begins, on page 191, a promising analysis of Sánchez' vocabulary and phraseology, but it is all too brief.

Personally I have to thank my friend and professor, Eduardo Colín, for his observations on single lines of Sánchez' *Barranca abajo*. In Act I, Sc. 21, Don Zoilo bids the Donjuanesque Luis to leave his daughters alone. He commences this unpleasant conversation in the typically mild phrase of the *gaucho* when he is about to be most violent: "Tenía que decirle dos palabritas." . . . Again, Zoilo's use of the word *reliquia* ("su honra que es su reliquia", Act III, Sc. 15) is inexpressibly touching. The word, says Colín, means what has greatest worth in the eyes of the family. Here Sánchez accomplishes the combining of words in popular usage with a fine, literary vocabulary. And what American students are awaiting is a microscopical examination of his language.

One is compelled, also, to note certain lapses in the work: First, inaccuracies, including misspellings. P. 19, Vértiz should read Vértiz.—P. 53, the author says: "the most notable writers were self-taught. Among them . . ."

This is inaccurate as regards Rodó and Vasseur, if not Carlos Reyles. The two former were university trained.—On p. 54, it is not kind to the old and famous *Ateneo* of Montevideo to say that a café was Montevideo's *Ateneo* from 1900 to 1910!—P. 63: Banfield is not a villa, but a flourishing suburb, south of Buenos Aires.—P. 67: "His body was removed to Uruguay fifteen years later (*i. e.*, 1925)." The date was late December of 1920 or early January of 1921.—P. 91, "Augustín", should read "Agustín."—P. 126: There is little to indicate that Sánchez' interest in revolutionary literature should be conveyed by so elevated a phrase as: "the *philosophy and economics* he read (*itals.* mine) and discussed at the Centro de Estudios Sociales".—P. 133, in the footnote, the place of publication of Gutiérrez Nájera's book, México, D. F., should be given.—P. 233, "Barbagetala", should read "Barbagelata."—P. 241, Lugones, the Argentine poet, is listed as an Uruguayan.

Second, omissions. Aside from those noted above, there should figure in pp. 236-8 of the Bibliography, the names of Ricardo Güiraldes, author of *Don Segundo Sombra* (1927) and Wifredo Pi, author of an *Antología de la lírica gauchesca* (1917). More works of Roberto J. Payró should have been included, namely: *El capitán Vergara*, *El triunfo de los otros*, *Marco Severi*, and the famous *Sobre las ruinas*. *La Rondalla* and *La ley del hombre* by Pérez Petit might have been mentioned; also works by Ghirardo: *La columna de fuego*, *Doña Pancha Garmendía*, *Los salvajes*, and so on.

In the third place, false translations may be pointed out. On p. 149 the phrase "paso a los fuertes" is rendered: "I pass over my destiny to the strong." The translation should have been: "Make way for the strong!"—On p. 141, "En buen hora seale perdonado su deslíz", which has been translated as "At a seasonable time her slip might be pardoned," has the meaning of "Let her lapse from virtue be pardoned—that is well and good; but . . ."

Fourthly, it is perhaps permissible to signalize certain questionable judgments. On p. 139, the author speaks of the "unnecessary characters such as those in *La Gringa* in the tavern scenes." Did Sánchez ever create unnecessary characters?—Pp. 73-5, it is risky to claim that Sánchez is indebted to Turgenieff for the conception of *M'hijo el doctor*. Nor does Vázquez Cey indicate it, although Miss Richardson seems to think so.—P. 209 bears the remark: "*Barranca abajo* represents a new note in the universal symphony of dramatic creation . . . Don Zoilo . . . evokes no antecedents and suggests no comparisons." The writer forgets Guimerá's *Tierra baja* and Linares Rivas' *La fuerza del mal*, to say nothing of fate in the Greek drama.—On p. 214 there is a statement which more critics than I will challenge, national *amour propre* being touched! "Mexico, Chile, Peru, and Nicaragua have led (*i. e.*, among Hispano-American countries. H.) in lyric poetry, Peru alone boasting 203 poets. The Argentine and Uruguay are inferior in their poetic contribution." Does Chile lead in lyric poetry? How many poets, precisely, has Peru? In any case, the River Plate boasts a galaxy of poets which absolutely confutes the dictum: "The Argentine and Uruguay are inferior."—P. 223, "South America lost her O'Neill when Sánchez died." The writer has nowhere elaborated a thesis of parallelism between O'Neill and Sánchez: one, therefore, finds this unqualified assertion fanciful, to put it mildly.

On p. 148 we read: "This (*Los derechos de la salud*) is beyond question Sánchez' best play." We are here on debatable ground: the critic should hear with deference those who, like Zum Felde, praise *Barranca abajo*; like Rojas, *La Gringa*; like Frugoni, *Los derechos*. Let it be said roundly that Miss Richardson holds her own very well with these critics throughout her work, here accepting, there differing from their opinions, an instance in point being her treatment of Sánchez' indebtedness to Roberto Bracco, the Neapolitan dramatist. Likewise with regard to the influence of Hauptmann and Sudermann, Aicard and Giacosa, she has shown both discernment and discretion. I myself hold an opinion divergent from hers as to the merits of *Los derechos de la salud*, but I am glad to praise the frank, finely phrased, and pleasing arguments she has used (pp. 148-55). She has dwelt thoroughly elsewhere on a tendency in Sánchez toward sociological preachments; on these pages, while affirming her point, she skilfully emphasizes the representational powers of the dramatist. He wrote *Los derechos de la salud* because such life-situations had often been photographed on the sensitized plate of his lacerated soul.

In conclusion, it may be said that Miss Richardson has made an auspicious beginning and given us a valuable reference book. The treasure is not exhausted. We earnestly beg her to explore the terrain further, and assure her of our deep interest in whatever subsequent studies in Hispano-American literature may come from her pen.

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TWO qualities, sincerity and unpretentiousness, not only signal out Eurialo de Michelis' volume of short stories (*Bugie*; Ermes Jacchia, Vicenza), but advance it, perforce, to the fore of our present discussion. This collection of ten stories is couched in analytical treatment; and the themes are, in the main, of sober composition. Michelis, who gained some fame through his novel, *Adamo* (1931), and his volume of poetry, *Aver vent'anni* (1927), continues along the introspective mood. This mood, *a priori*, invites difficulty and danger. Fortunately, the author's keen sensibility and poetic nature keep the stories from falling into "slow-motion",—or better, let us call it the general ennui which is wont to identify itself with the intricacies of subjective reasoning. We were afraid of this pitfall especially upon perusal of the first story, *Sirio*, which, with outward signs of meandering, length, tediousness, gave omens of ill-fate to the volume. These omens were dispelled, however, within the very same story. After this first hazard, enjoyment sets in, intensifying itself to the point of ecstasy in *Ragazzo*, which is marked by delicate consideration and refinement. In this story the drama evolves between the son, rounding into manhood, and the father, helpless against the dangers that accompany the metamorphosis. It is that critical age when the father, by an attitude, by some misplaced sympathy, by a misunderstood mood, may forever alienate the affections of his son, and spoil a comradeship, so natural and necessary, particularly when the mother has passed beyond. This point can be better brought out by the author's own words:

"L'età critica: il ragazzo che diventa uomo. Che continuasse a fumare, suo padre ne era certo, anche se mostrava di non accorgersene per paura di perderlo di più senza ottenere lo scopo: altre cose, altri vizii più gravi dovevano incominciare adesso, altri desiderii nascere in lui . . . Un'onda di tenerezza, come una pena senza perché, empiva il cuore paterno quando non visto si indugiava a guardarlo: un volto non anche formato, con le guance paffute sotto gli zigomi forti e sporgenti, con la piccola bocca di bambino che sembrava dover ancora imbronciarsi a uno scoppio di pianto o aprirsi a squillanti risa, e sapeva chiudersi così dura negli ostinati silenzi."

The last story of the collection, *Pace*, attains a loftiness of sentiment which adds a touch of finality to the volume. In this tale, a man stricken with a fatal illness struggles to make his exit from life without fuss or fastidiousness to others. This he attains with grace, and one might say with poetry, when we consider the closing words of the story:

"Perché piangete?—volle dire alla moglie e al figlio che era lì nella stanza.—E così facile [death]. Ma gli riesci un mugolio disarticolato che poteva soltanto crescere quella pena, che era giusto non poter oggi evitare com'era giusto che un giorno si sarebbe esaurita naturalmente. Allora per quelli sorrise e per se chiuse gli occhi."

Mondadori of Milan has launched a new writer in Marise Ferro. That Marise Ferro (indeed, a very young woman) has talent beyond the ordinary is attested by the volume which we are about to discuss, *Disordine*. Let us recall that Miss Ferro submitted her manuscript in competition for the Mondadori Academy Prize. Some hundred other manuscripts were entered, but the jury of award withheld the prize, adjudging no work of sufficient distinction. Miss Ferro's novel, however, received special mention,—a fact which, subsequently, influenced the house of Mondadori to publish the work. The novel has dimensions and structure. The first part gains the sympathy of the reader; it shows predispositions of artistry and experience. This merit might have been maintained throughout, had the *materia prima* been more evenly and judiciously distributed. Lack of a central, motivating theme seems to account for the failure. In point of fact, there are three themes focussed on one type of problem: three women, a mother and two daughters, by mockery of fate (call it a pathological one, if you will), experience the same disaster,—all three, following the instincts of a delicate romantic nature, bestow their love on men who come short of understanding their feminine souls. All three recoil at the thought of living under conditions non-conformable to their idyllic aspirations. This is the point that the author, we believe, wants to throw into relief. But sentiment is not clearly defined by the author. Neither is there much idyl, for, upon close analysis, we should say that the three women are more concerned with attitudes: in fact, they are bitterly disappointed in the non-fulfillment of the dictates of their vanities. We question whether the author has succeeded in conveying to us the deep and tragic feelings experienced by feminine hearts in the bestowal of affection unconditionally upon arid soil. If the novel is somewhat autobiographical, which we think it is, there is this to be said, that it makes interesting reading. As a novel, however, it comes short of being comparable with other novels written by Italy's young authors,—such as, for example, Alberto Moravia's *Gli Indifferenti*, which *Disordine* dimly

echoes. Yet there are sufficient good points about this *comp d'essai* to justify Miss Ferro's continuing in the literary profession. And, by way of tribute, let us jot down the foreword of her Ligurian colleague and compatriot, Alessandro Varaldo:

"Leggete *Disordine* e seguite nel futuro la sua autrice. Non ve ne pentirete. Non è la piccola donna del saggio o del tentativo: non appartiene alla schiera dei bonzi e degli spulciatori di sensazioni proprie od altrui. Sa narrare e cerca di costruire: l'avrete cara compagna di solitudine e d'inquietudine. È nata per raccontare secondo la bella tradizione nostrana; è nata per issare non soltanto la timida vela usuale, ma puranche quella di fortuna, ché nacque sul mare, e chi nasce sul mare è destinato ad andar lontano."

At this moment we should like to turn our attention to a collection of historical novels, *Romanzi Storici Italiani*, published jointly by Ravagnati of Milan, and Italian Publishers of New York. In launching the series the editors and publishers have proposed to substitute good historical literature for current literature of adventure, which, in the main, is in bad taste:

"La collezione dei *Romanzi Storici Italiani*, diretta da Valentino Piccoli, si propone di venire incontro alle tendenze del pubblico, orientandolo verso quanto v'ha di meglio nelle grandi tradizioni letterarie e storiche della nostra patria. Il lettore troverà in questi libri tutto quello che può soddisfare il suo desiderio di vicende emozionanti e avventurose, ma nel tempo stesso vedrà questi quadri narrativi prospettarsi in quella fervida e molteplice vita italiana nei secoli, da cui sorge, per infiniti rivi, la nuova grandezza dell'Italia fascista. E intanto, al posto della vacua formula convenzionale, vedrà opere che conciliano con il diletto e l'interesse un elevato intento artistico e nazionale."

There are two other reasons for which the series has been launched: namely, to oppose influences (realism, surrealism, etc.) emanating from beyond the Alps, and propagated by some young writers in the controversy between the national and the cosmopolitan sentiment, as represented in the "strapaese" and the "stracittà" movements of recent date; secondly, to attempt to check, if not supplant to a considerable degree, the widely diffused "detective" and "mystery" stories.

The first two volumes of the series at hand are Valentino Piccoli's *Il giglio tra le fiamme*, and Giuseppe Fanciulli's *La spada di Eleonora*. The first is a novel touching on historical and legendary episodes revolving about the powerful Donati family. More specifically, it deals with Piccarda dei Donati, the "lily" among so much violence, and her brother, Messer Corso, of inflexible will. The author's chief sources of information and inspiration are drawn from Dino Compagni's *Cronaca Fiorentina*, and from Dante's *Divine Comedy* (Canto III, *Paradiso*: "Iddio si sa qual poi mia vita fusi").

The other novel, Fanciulli's *La spada di Eleonora*, shifts to Sardinia of the 14th century, when, under Pisan domination, the island was divided into four judicary centers. It was in 1381 that Eleonora of Alborea succeeded to the judgeship of her district, after her brother, Hugo IV, was assassinated. The author gives this remarkable woman an excellent evaluation. She was, it may be recalled, a woman of moral strength, of action, worthy of any patriot. She possessed above all a mind of consummate intelligence. Centuries upon centuries have failed to destroy the usefulness and practicability in Sardinia of her law

code and handbook, *Carta de Logu*. Fanciulli has built up an historical novel of distinction. Yet its purpose of being palpably adventurous, according to the premise of the series, falls short of furnishing intense interest to the non-specialized reader. This could be said of the first volume also.

Indeed, it was a worthy ideal to launch the series against current literature of poor taste. But as an effective counteraction, a matter of grave doubt remains, especially if we consider the fate of the foregoing volumes: novels of this type, by virtue of historical settings and research, must, necessarily, appeal to people of some culture and penetration. They can hardly compete as a remunerative incentive with "pot-boilers". On the other hand, it is really regrettable that the series was launched with this motive. The point arises here as to whether there exists an adequate substitute for writing built on cheap fare, coarseness, and clap-trap.

In conclusion, let us say that if the series continues to put out good literature, there should be, *ipso facto*, ample justification for the continuance of the work started, letting the end or purpose develop as it will.

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RUMANIAN BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Const. Graur, *Căți-va înși*, cu o notiță introductivă de T. Teodorescu-Braniște, București, Editura "Adevărul", [1932], 124 pp.

Since up-to-dateness plays such an overwhelming part in the work of the journalist that today relegates the news of yesterday to the archives of ancient history, Constantine Graur's *Few Individuals*, collected and published with an introduction by Tudor Teodorescu-Braniște, are justly saved for posterity from thirty years' volumes of various and scattered daily newspapers. Although written at widely separated dates, the twelve biographies contain one uniform aim: the vindication of characters misunderstood by their contemporaries. Graur presents in convincing and firmly drawn lines, packed with a quaint original humor, the forgotten of yesteryear: Anton Papadopol, N. Damian, Ilie Alexandrescu, Alex. Strakosch, St. Petică, Badea Cârțan, Niță Pițurcă, S. Edelstein, Franz Schuhmeier, Adolf Hoffmann, Raymond Lavigne and Raimund Körbler.

Who are the heroes of this international Plutarch of failures? Some were famous for one day but conquered by fate and buried in the mass of time, others absolutely unknown and re-created by the spell of the chronicler. Graur, the managing editor of the independent and influential Bucharest daily "*Adevărul*" (*Truth*), is a mine of personal recollections dating back to the end of the 19th century and an historian with a predilection for the humble rather than the great.

As a sample, we extract the following authentic anecdote, and, to preserve its savor, we quote the dialogue as we find it in the original:

"A foreigner entered the store and asked Papadopol: — 'Sprechen Sie deutsch?' — 'Nicht'. — 'Franzoesisch?' — 'Nicht'. — 'Italienisch?' — 'Nicht'. — 'Englisch?' — 'Nicht'.

"The foreigner, discouraged, wanted to leave. Papadopol stopped him: — 'Şpreken rumaenisch?' — 'Nein.' — 'Şpreken grekisch?' — 'Nein.' — 'Şpreken turkisch?' — 'Nein.' — 'Şpreken russisch?' — 'Nein.' — 'Papadopol, too, made a gesture of discouragement. And when he told us the incident, he added as a commentary: — 'Who sent him to me, if he does not know a decent language?'"

N. D. Cocea, *Vinul de viață lungă*, cu un portret inedit de Marcel Iancu, București, Editura "Cultura Națională", 1931, 148 pp.

N. D. Cocea, like Graur, is an editor who reached the half-century mark without having published more than his periodical articles dealing with the inexorable present. And now in *The Wine of Long Life*, he tries his hand at the novel, or rather the novelette, and succeeds in telling a remarkable story.

The violent pamphleteer preserves his pugnacious style in this tale of the love of Boyar Manole Arcașu, the owner of Cotnari vineyards, for his gipsy slave, Rada, and the girl's tragic death. Stark realism mingles with the mysterious in the description of the far-off scene when the short moments of passion distil the penetrating wine which becomes the Boyar's potion of eternal youth.

There is an essence of misanthropy in these pages, which blurs the flow of the recital but brings out in marked relief the character of Arcașu and, what is less fortunate, the author's attitude towards his contemporaries.

The epic would have been enhanced if the hero moved in his own archaic world during the period of that unique romance. As it stands, the grandiose scenes of enchantment and the logical cruelty of the inexperienced social reformer, who, in a fit of jealous madness, orders the flogging of the whole gipsy tribe, are weakened in the too distant perspective. There is more than necessary of the drab present and too much of the narrator's life in a small Rumanian village community. Nevertheless, the *Wine of Long Life* proves to be a subtle stylistic liquor, highly artistic, and stimulating.

Aron Cotruș, *Printre oameni în mers*, Sosnowiec, Polonia, 1933, 64 pp.

The complaint against the vicissitudes of fortune in Graur's biographies of the underdogs, or against the "stupidity" of society in Cocea's novelette, becomes the brooding revolt of the masses in Aron Cotruș's *Among Men in Going*, a volume of verse published privately by the author in Poland, where he is serving as *attaché* at the Rumanian legation.

Cotruș is a Transylvanian, the son of a priest, and educated in Blaj, Brașov and Vienna. During the late war he served in the Austro-Hungarian army and fought on the Italian front, where he was made prisoner. Before entering diplomacy, he was a journalist.

Cotruș's poetry is a blending of the nationalistic and the radical. His peasant, "Ion", who wears sandals and has experienced hard work, heavy taxation and much scorn, used to take off humbly his fur cap when some Hungarian count or baron passed him on the road. He did not know that his ear of wheat and grain of corn can conquer the count and the baron — stronger than an army ready for war. Some day he shall find it out, and then, with his strength, he will change his country from top to bottom. And further:

"Stony peasant, steeped in toil,
I dream of thee on thy piece of land — Emperor,

Building under suns of fire, with winged haste,
New worlds on unshaken foundations."

In *Crosses* Cotruș summarizes his own destiny:

"Heavy cross on the long way,
Cross at the end of the road:
If I reach it, if I do not reach it,
My fate is the fate of the smoke."

And more penetrating in its grim gray is *Brother*:

"Brother,
Thou, who art afraid of loneliness,
Think well, think well:
Who
Will come, friendly,
To sleep, tomorrow, near thee
In the night of the same coffin?"

Cotruș embodies the yearnings of his Transylvanian fellowmen, with whom he is "in going", headed towards a future, distant perhaps, but unavoidable.

Şantier, social-literary; Redactor: Ion Pas. Anul I, No. 1 şi 2, Bucureşti, 15 Septembrie-1 Octombrie, 1933, 12 pp.

Ion Pas publishes his *Şantier* (*Shop*), a social and literary bi-monthly periodical with the collaboration of Şerban Voinea, I. Plugaru, Al. Calistrat, C. Pajură, Eugen Relgis, P. Ioanid, Lotar Rădăceanu, G. Spina, Sandu Eliad, Constantin Vardeş, Leon Feraru, etc. In its first issue, *Şantier* gives its program, which is the same as of the former *Omul Liber* (*Free Man*), edited ten years ago also by Ion Pas: "We shall be satisfied if we snatch away from their lethargy a few consciences, if we make them taste the endless blue of the sky with clear eyes and pure heart, and if we stimulate their energies, leading them in the path of daring, fruitful and beautiful deeds."

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ROMANCE LANGUAGE CLASS-TEXTS

Trois Nouvelles de Gobineau. Edited with Introduction, Vocabulary and Notes by A. H. Rowbotham, N. Y., Harper & Brothers, 1932, XXI + 276 pp.

Dr. Rowbotham was exceptionally well prepared to be the editor of these novelettes, since he selected as his dissertation subject *The Literary Works of Count de Gobineau* (1929). To keep alive "la gloire vivace du Comte de Gobineau," he has prepared for class use the early story, *Mademoiselle Irnois*, the ironical Oriental sketch, *Histoire de Gambèr-Aly*, and a tale of ancient Greece revived in modern times, *Akrivie Phrangopoulos*.

Bitter scorn for the parvenu Napoleonic "noble", recently risen from that class which Gobineau was wont to call "la boue," fills the half-romantic, half-realistic pages of *Mademoiselle Irnois*. This only daughter of an ex-speculator, a profiteer of the Revolutionary epoch, was at seventeen physically and mentally a child, plagued with a mysteriously undermining disease. On the mere rumor of her immense fortune, the *arriviste* Count Cabarot, a crafty creature of Napoleon, does not hesitate to enlist the imperial power to further his cold-

blooded scheme of a money-marriage with a misshapen invalid. But oblivious to her family and her surroundings, Mademoiselle Irnois had fallen deeply and idealistically in love with a young workingman whom she used to watch from her window; and in her childlike mind this unreal love blossomed out into a mystical exaltation. Cabarot discovers all this, but he is not to be deterred by such minor complications. He marries the invalid, who dies a week later, leaving him in full possession of the coveted dowry. The dispossessed noble of the *Ancien Régime* thus took a satirical revenge on his dishonest successors.

The *Histoire de Gambèr-Aly* exposes the swaggering mendacity and cowardice of the Oriental, for whom Gobineau had but scant esteem. A pampered Persian youth, who by accident had killed one of his comrades in a fight, took refuge in a mosque, where the tomb of a saint would shield him from justice. By a strange turn of events, he becomes the object of the attention of many a wealthy lady, as well as of the veneration of the mass. An affluent concubine of the governor pays blood-money to the relatives of the murdered man, and forcibly removes the hero, fainting from fear, to her luxurious villa. He eventually marries her, and takes his former enemies and betrayers into his service as his most respectful slaves.

These two stories, as well as a number of passages from *Les Pléiades*, show that Gobineau had a superb talent as a satirist, — a gift which his biographers have perhaps not stressed enough. One could adduce, for instance, the portrait of a reigning German princess in *Les Pléiades* (I, pp. 162-163), which is in the best Voltairian manner.

The Greek dream embodied in *Akrivie Phrangopoulo* transposes positively, so to speak, the negative satire of contemporary life of the two preceding novels. On the Island of Naxos, far removed from deleterious influences of contemporary civilization, protected against them by the sea, "calme d'un calme profond, bleue comme une pervenche," — there dwells a Greek family in whom the antique virtues survive unspoiled. The story that unfolds is simple as a Hellenic dream: an English nobleman falls in love with Akrivie, the very incarnation, it would seem, of a Greek goddess in her harmonious beauty, and of the Homeric heroine in her deeply human simplicity: "Akrivie était la femme des temps homériques, ne vivant, n'existant, n'ayant de raison d'être que par le milieu où elle se mouvait; fille, sœur exclusivement, en attendant qu'elle devint, d'une manière non moins absolue, épouse et mère." It is much as we should imagine a meeting of Amadis and Venus in a timeless land where a superior humanity can live according to its own inborn aristocracy, unhampered by the decadent intruders of the lower strata. The English nobleman, of course, decides to leave Europe and to settle down in the most forgotten corner of Naxos, to a life perfumed by myrtle and red roses, and sanctified by the nostalgia of the gods. And much like that must we imagine Gobineau, in his later years, dreaming of the impossible union of the "fils de roi" and the unspoiled daughter of Hellas, far-removed from corrupting democracies and parading, but hollow, empires like the triumphant Prussia of his time.

These three stories will afford an insight into the complex psychology of an author who, like Stendhal, has obtained his share of fame many decades after his decease, though there can be no doubt that, as a literary artist, he will

always remain several rungs below the more incisively psychological author of *Le Rouge et le Noir*.

J.-A. de Gobineau, *Le Prisonnier chanceux ou les Aventures de Jean de la Tour-Miracle*. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by H. W. Church, N. Y., Century Co., 1933, XXVI + 244 pp.

Le Prisonnier chanceux, which appeared in 1846 as a *roman-feuilleton* in *La Quotidienne*, was obviously a "pot-boiler," — one of those well-paid-for stories, manufactured to order, of the right length and the right spirit, and spiced to tickle the popular taste. But Gobineau wasted more talent over his "pot-boilers" than many another author ever mustered for his more serious works. Though he wrote with mental reservations and a somewhat ironic disdain for the reader who was going to "swallow all this" without even a grimace, he entered easily into the spirit of the game, and his *Prisonnier chanceux* is as good, or as bad, a novel as the best of Dumas père.

There can be no doubt that Viscount de Gobineau, arch-aristocrat and hackwriter, set out deliberately to compose a *feuilleton*, stooping to what he considered the "rabble" in matters esthetic and intellectual. In 1844, in a review of the *Grandeur et Misères des Courtisanes* and *Esther* by Balzac, he had reproached him for prostituting his great gifts with such sacrifices to the populace; and yet he conceded that this form of writing was the only way to reach the people and could serve admirably to regularize "l'invasion des barbares dans les domaines littéraires." But his need for money was pressing, and the temptation to concoct a gold-producing *feuilleton* grew irresistible. Exactly those years, — 1844-1846, — witnessed soaring author's fortunes built up from ever-mounting piles of unending popular novels. In 1844 appeared Dumas' *Les trois Mousquetaires* (8 vols.); in 1844-45, *Le Comte de Monte-Christo* (12 vols.); in 1846, *La Dame de Montsoro*, — to mention only the best-known among the thirty odd works thrown on the market by the literary factory of Dumas & Co. during these two years. Paul de Kock had made a fortune with the one hundred volumes he had poured forth, relentlessly, from 1812 to 1846; and the ever-ebullient stream was to continue rolling its gold-nuggets forward for three decades more. In 1842-43, Eugène Sue published his great success, *Les Mystères de Paris*, and topped it in 1844-45 with his *Le Juif errant*. Writing a *feuilleton*, breaking into the best seller class, was as remunerative as a stock-speculation, as a *coup de bourse*. And it is, then, hardly astonishing that an impoverished Viscount would put aside, for a while, his aristocratic superiority to try his hand on a historical tale, and his luck in the popular market place.

It was a clever hand; Gobineau mastered the tricks of the trade at once. With a smiling unconcern he launches his puppets on the ever-evolving stage, of which a good example of the formula might be: a beautiful damsel comes a-riding in the moonlight on a silver-caparisoned ambler; the somber villain appears, his face darkened by a *sombrero*; commotion in the brushwood, rapiers glitter and crackle metallicly; shouts and red torch-light, and the invincible hero emerges, breast bared and locks in the wind, as self-assured and square-chested as a *jeune premier*. He kneels to kiss the lily-hand of the damsel, and the blue silk of his wide sleeves trails in the dust . . .

Gobineau had no trouble in assimilating the Dumas formula; yet, occasional clumsiness betrays the novice, as, for example, when in a difficult situa-

tion, a character explains his own intentions to himself by the means of a "mute monologue": "M. de Castillac parut réfléchir un instant à tout ce que Jean lui déclarait; mais par le fait, il avait en tête d'autres idées qu'il s'expliquait à lui-même par ce monologue muet et par conséquent très rapide." The monologue follows. There is danger, however, that some well-intentioned critic may, on the strength of this passage, proclaim Gobineau a precursor of the modern *monologue intérieur*!

Le Prisonnier chanceux is partly a *pastiche* in the Dumas manner and partly a *picaresque*. The valet of Jean de la Tour-Miracle, Barbillon, is one of those irrepressible, resourceful, drunken and dishonest knaves, *pícaros* unflinchingly devoted to their masters, of whom we have found so many prototypes in the novels of roguery. And Jean de la Tour-Miracle is mainly miraculous in his hair-breadth escapes at the last moment from continual perils of death. There is always, to his profit, that omni-provident, last-second intervention of a *Deus ex machina* in innumerable disguises, who deflects the pistol aimed at the dauntless hero's heart, or delivers him from amidst a thousand enemies, — to carry him, at last, triumphantly, to the arms of his most adored lady.

After many wanderings through brigand-infested France, torn by civil strife, he arrives at last at the abode of Diane de Poitiers, his godmother, where he meets his beloved who, by a strange coincidence, has also arrived at that court. His short-lived happiness is interrupted by his voluntary arrest as the suspected murderer of the Duke de Guise. Innumerable accomplices watch over him: his resourceful valet, Barbillon, a Protestant lady intriguer who has fallen in love with him, his father, Diane de Poitiers herself, and even de Monluc, the Catholic captain who had to arrest him. It is not astonishing, therefore, that this *prisonnier chanceux* escaped all dangers, all deep-laid plots, all villainous bandits, and all conspiracies, to be united, after super-human feats of arms, — much as we expected, — to the lady he had loved in Chapter I.

Gobineau, in this novel of *capa y espada*, used rather naïvely all the technical trickery of the *roman feuilleton*. This challenge to Dumas betrays an easy talent that deigned to stoop to the populace with the suave flourish of a "grand seigneur qui s'encanaille."

Jacinto Benavente, *Los Malhechores del bien*. Authorized edition, edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by I. A. Leonard and R. K. Spaulding, N. Y., Macmillan Co., 1933, XXVII + 126 pp.

Although Benavente is the recognized master of the modern Spanish stage, his works are hardly available to the student of Spanish. Only one of his longer plays has been issued for class use, — his masterpiece, *Los Intereses creados*, harking back to the *Commedia dell'Arte* tradition. A few of his one-act plays have appeared, but these, though occasionally representative, do not, nevertheless, sufficiently illustrate his technique and dramatic aims. Again, his fairy play for children, *El Príncipe que todo lo aprendió en los libros*, affords an interest of curiosity rather than of esthetics. This dearth of texts of so renowned a modern author is all the more surprising since Benavente has met with wide acclaim outside of his own country. His high achievements were recognized by the Nobel Prize for literature, conferred on him already in

1922, and his *Passion Flower* and *Bonds of Interest* won great success on the boards of Broadway.

We should, therefore, be grateful for this class-text of his *Malbechores del bien*, so typical of the *genre* of social satire in which Benavente excels. In this merciless exposure of misguided provincial charity, under which the donors mask their inhuman craving for domination and veil their hypocritical self-interest, he brings up a pertinent problem of modern society. Furthermore, since he works out his plot with his characteristic mastery of stagecraft, since he rounds off his lance-corners of incisive indictment with subtle irony, mellows even his most despicable characters with piercing psychological veracity and skillful dialogue, this play will attract the students as one near to their interests, and one which should take a meritorious place among the problem dramas which they seem to prefer, as a challenge to enlightenment in this fast-moving age of social progress.

Fernán Caballero, *Cuentos de Encantamientos*. Edited by P. P. Rogers, N. Y., Harper & Brothers, 1932, XV + 165 pp.

Fernán Caballero's hearth-told tales of the Spanish peasant keep finding ever increasing favor for beginning readers in Spanish. It is because of their lively interest, their sly humor, their unpretentious yet fluent style, as well as their indigenous flavor of stories told and retold for many generations by the simple folk of the remote Spanish hamlet, — that these fairy tales are here presented as a more comprehensive sample of Spanish folklore. Some of these stories constitute interesting variants of folk tales told in many other countries of Europe, as that of *Los Deseos*, in which the old husband and wife cannot agree on what they most desire. When, in a fury, the husband wishes a sausage to cling to his wife's nose, they can use the third and last wish to no better purpose than to remove it. Again, one might point out as equally well-known the tale of "Juan Cigarrón", the false soothsayer, who, by chance, guesses the correct answers at the crucial moment, thereby saving his skin. Others, like *La Niña de los tres Maridos* or *El Pájaro de la Verdad*, strike a familiar note to those who, in their childhood, found entertainment in the rich fantasy of Andrew Lang's variegated collections of fairy tales. Finally, others follow the realistic peasant tradition, displaying all the crafty wisdom and homely moralizing of indigenous tales of the soil, such as *El Holgazán* or *Si Dios quiere*. These vivid tales will constitute a novel Spanish reader for the beginner who is not too sophisticated in literary preferences, nor too disdainful of the home-spun tales that delighted the childhood of our forefathers.

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EDUCATIONAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC—THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES (907 15th St., Washington, D. C.) announces that all applications for fellowships and grants in 1934 must be filed by Dec. 15, 1933. The fellowships have a basic stipend of \$1,800, with allowances for travel, expenses of research, etc. The grants are in two categories; small grants, not

exceeding \$300, and larger grants, not exceeding \$1,000. All applicants must have the doctorate, and those seeking fellowships must not be more than 35 years of age.—THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION announced, on Sept. 18, the award of 76 fellowships to American students for study in foreign countries during 1933-34. These awards, which fall under the Student Exchange, are apportioned as follows: Austria, 5; Czechoslovakia, 5; Germany, 43; Hungary, 3; Italy, 9; Spain, 2; Switzerland, 8; and the Germanistic Society of America Fellowship of \$1,000. In the last five years the Institute has granted 1,695 Fellowships, with a total value of \$985,235. Of these American students have received 921 and foreigners 774.—GEO. A. PLIMPTON, President of the Amherst Corporation, purchased recently in Europe the following MSS: A work, including the French Educator and the Alphabet, written by Alcuin for Charlemagne in 800; a 1135 illustrated French vellum copy of the history of France, dealing also with the Popes, Rome, and the lives of the Emperors, which was originally composed in 850 by Rabanus Maurus (776-856), who studied under Alcuin at Tours and later became Archbishop of Mainz (847); one of the two extant copies of the Latin Grammar of Donatus; a 13th-century MS of the *Roman de la Rose*; and early MSS in Anglo-Saxon, Irish, Welsh and Gaelic.—THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO, founded in 1553, conferred on Josephus Daniels, U. S. Ambassador, the title of honorary alumnus on Aug. 29.—THE VATICAN LIBRARY, which collapsed in 1931, has now been restored, through gifts of Americans. The public reference room, containing 60,000 volumes, catalogued according to the Library of Congress card system, was reopened on Sept. 28.—THE ASSOCIAZIONE ITALO-AMERICANA (Rome, Corso Umberto I, 271) has organized a "Bureau of Assistance and of Cultural Information for Americans."—DISTINGUISHED EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS, who have retired recently from active duties because of age limits, include Antoine Thomas and Edmond Huguet, of the Sorbonne, and J. J. Salverda de Grave, of the University of Amsterdam. Prof. Gustave Cohen, of the Sorbonne, published an interesting account of the ceremonies held on June 3 at Amsterdam in honor of the latter.—FERDINAND BRUNOT, Honorary Dean of the Sorbonne, was recently awarded the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor.—NEARLY 1,000 BOOKS from the private library of the Czars of Russia were sold at auction in New York from Nov. 21 to 24. Included in the collection were works by Dumas, Paul Féval, Paul Lacroix, Gautier, Sue, Souvestre and Xavier de Montépin.—THE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SANTANDER, sponsored by Fernando de los Ríos, inaugurated its courses during the Summer in the palace and pavilion built by Alfonso XIII. Spanish students, 215 in number, attended courses from July 3 to Sept. 6, whereas 110 foreigners followed the August courses. The faculty was recruited from most of the universities of Spain.—EIGHT LOVE LETTERS, written by Napoleon to Josephine between March, 1796 and May, 1800, were sold for 4,400 £ at the auction of Lord Rosebery's collection in London on July 25. About 550 other letters and documents of the Napoleonic period were auctioned at the same time. Other Napoleonic relics, belonging to a Hindu prince, were sold the same day at Staines. These included a Tacitus in 3 vols., abandoned by the Emperor in his baggage at Waterloo.—A L'ENSEIGNE DU POT CASSÉ, which recently published Albert Maison's *La Vie d'Erasmus*, is now issuing *Les Œuvres d'Erasmus*

in 10 vols. "C'est la première fois," comments a critic, "que paraît dans notre langue un ensemble aussi complet des écrits du Voltaire hollandais."—Two NEW REVIEWS were inaugurated during the Summer, viz., *Le Français moderne* and *Investigaciones Lingüísticas*. The former, a quarterly, which, according to André Thérive, "va devenir indispensable à tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux questions de langage," is edited by Prof. Albert Dauzat, of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. The chief articles of the first issue (June) are: "L'évolution de la langue française, du XVe siècle à nos jours", by Prof. Dauzat; "Comment un étranger étudie le français", by Prof. E. Lerch, of Münster; "Le lexique du XVIIIe siècle", by Prof. G. Guerlin de Guer, of Lille; and "La prononciation actuelle du français", by Prof. P. Fouché, Directeur de l'Institut de Phonétique. Subscriptions (66 fr. annually) should be sent to J. L. L. d'Artrey, 17, rue de la Rochefoucauld, Paris (9e). The latter, a bi-monthly review, which is the organ of the Instituto Mexicano de Investigaciones Lingüísticas, is devoted to the study of Mexican Spanish as spoken in different parts of the country. Thus, we note the following articles in its first issue (Aug.): R. Ortega, "Estudio estilístico de *Astucia* de Luis Inclán"; R. M. Gutiérrez Eskildsen, "Algunos regionalismos de Tabasco"; R. López Gurrión, "Vocablos nuevos del Zapoteco"; A. Henestrosa, "Estudios sobre la lengua zapoteca"; A. Rosenblat, "La lengua y la cultura de Hispano-América". Subscriptions (\$3.00 annually) should be sent to Mariano Silva y Aceves, San Ildefonso núm. 43, México, D. F.—ANGEL ROSENBLAT maintains, in a recent issue of *Nosotros* of Buenos Ayres, that South American Spanish has become in recent years more puristic than even the Castilian of Spain. Thus, the *d* in participles like *amado* has been revived, and also the labio-dental *v*, as in *vaca*. For "hair", *cabello*, and not *pelo*, is used, and for "wife", *Señora* or *señora esposa*, and not *mujer*. And in Costa Rica they call the biceps of the arm *ratón*, recreating thus the original meaning of "muscle" (Lat. *musculus*, "small mouse"). Gallicisms and Italianisms are disappearing rapidly in this widespread revival of pure Castilian, proving that Unamuno's remark that the Spanish of Colombia was purer than that of Spain was correct.—PRESIDENT VARGAS of Brazil decreed on Sept. 7 a standardized phonetic spelling in all public institutions of the Republic, in accordance with the understanding reached in 1931 between the Brazilian and Portuguese Academies (Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXII, 1931, No. 3, p. 276). Among the words affected are *actual* becoming *atual*; *Babia* > *Baia*; *Nictberoy* > *Niteroi*; etc. Though this is not a widespread revision, Guilherme de Almeida, poet member of the Brazilian Academy, who recently returned from political exile in Portugal, declares that the spoken language in the two countries "is becoming more different every day, whether the Academies like it or not."—THE FRENCH ACADEMY recommended on June 30 the inclusion of the word "poilu" in its Dictionary, with the following definition: "French soldier of the front-line trenches during the war of 1914-18." Heretofore the term has been used for any soldier of the War.—ANDRÉ THÉRIVE inveighs, in his interesting column, "Querelles de Langage," against the literary fashion of creating verbs from nouns, i. e., "journaliser", for "insérer dans un journal"; "auditionner", for "donner une audition"; "programmer", for "mettre au programme"; etc. "Il ne faut jamais créer de verbes," he adds, "car l'accent de la phrase française porte sur les substantifs."—THE BELGIAN SECOND NATIONAL

LANGUAGE OBLIGATION, long submitted to by the Flemings, who have always learned as many languages as were available, is now being applied to the Walloons; and "the Walloon," says the *New York Times* of Sept. 24, "like the Frenchman, abominates foreign languages, but he hates the Flemish still more." Consequently, the *Gazette de Charleroi* urges its readers to stand no nonsense and to demand instruction in English instead of in Flemish. "English and German are neglected in our public schools", it declares, "relegated to third and fourth rank, while Flemish, a provincial language, reigns in the place of honor." —MATHIEU AMBROSI maintains, in an article entitled "L'Origine africaine du peuple corse" in the July 1st issue of *Monde et Voyages*, that the Corsicans are the descendants of the ancient Iberians who emigrated from Northern Africa. According to his theory the Iberians ("ib., fils; iben, ben, béni; ère, temps, âge: les Fils du Temps, les Premiers") came in their *couffa*, "barques rondes et profondes," by way of the Balearic Islands and Sardinia to Corsica, "la plus lointaine des Balari, les Eloignées (*balek*, loin)". Consequently, he finds many similarities between Corsican customs and those of Africa.—THE ESPERANTO CONGRESS, held at Cologne on July 30-31, claimed great gains for their auxiliary language. Nevertheless, the possibility of reviving Latin was discussed and a first showing was made of a picture language, "Mundaneum," which "would present economic and social facts understandably to all peoples." Likewise, Anglic, Basic English, Ido, Occidental and Novial were not without defenders. However, as the *New York Times* of Aug. 12 so admirably says, "all are but gropings toward a universal speech which the radio must some day bring."—A CURIOUS LETTER, written by Jacques de Saint-André, Maréchal de France (1505-1562) to Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1530-1569) during his imprisonment for having taken part in the Conspiracy of Amboise (1560), was recently discovered in France. As the purpose of the letter was to impart secret information to the Prince, one should first read the letter in its entirety which conveys the meaning intended for the Prince's custodians and then the odd-numbered lines which were intended for the Prince alone.

- 1) "Croyez-moi, prince, préparez-vous à
- 2) la mort. Aussi bien vous sied-il mal de
- 3) vous défendre. Qui veut vous perdre est
- 4) ami de l'Etat. On ne peut rien voir de
- 5) plus coupable que vous. Ceux qui,
- 6) par un véritable zèle pour le roi,
- 7) vous ont rendu si criminel, étaient
- 8) honnêtes gens et incapables d'être
- 9) subornés. Je prends trop d'intérêt à
- 10) tous les maux que vous avez faits en
- 11) votre vie pour vouloir vous taire
- 12) que l'arrêt de votre mort n'est plus
- 13) un si grand secret. Les scélérats,
- 14) c'est ainsi que vous nommez ceux
- 15) qui ont osé vous accuser, méritaient
- 16) aussi justement récompense que vous
- 17) la mort qu'on vous prépare; votre seul

- 18) entêtement vous persuade que votre seul
- 19) mérite vous a fait des ennemis,
- 20) et que ce ne sont pas vos crimes
- 21) qui causent votre disgrâce. Niez
- 22) avec votre effronterie accoutumée
- 23) que vous avez eu aucune part à
- 24) tous les criminels projets de
- 25) la conjuration d'Amboise. Il n'est pas
- 26) comme vous vous l'êtes imaginé im-
- 27) possible de vous en convaincre; à
- 28) tout hasard, recommandez-vous à
- 29) Dieu."

For a similar curiosity cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIII, Jan.-Mch., 1932, pp. 95-96.

NECROLOGY—DR. HELEN EASTMAN MANNING, Professor of Romance Languages at Hood College, Frederick, Md., from 1926 to 1933, died during the Summer. Miss Manning was born at Elmira, N. Y. on Nov. 14, 1890, and received the A.B. degree *cum laude* at Elmira College in 1912, and the A.M. degree at Columbia in 1916. After having studied at Johns Hopkins (1917-20), University of Chicago (Summer Quarter, 1919), Columbia University, University of Paris (1920-21) and France and Italy (Summers of 1926 and 1927), she was awarded the Ph.D. degree by Columbia in 1929 on her dissertation, *La Vie de Saint Thibaut, An Old French Poem of the Thirteenth Century*. Miss Manning began her teaching career as Instructor in the New Woodstock, N. Y., High School (1912-15), passing thence to Goucher College as Instructor of French (1916-20), Assistant Professor of French, Wheaton College (1921-22), Instructor of French in Columbia University Extension (1922-26) and in the Columbia Summer Sessions of 1924 and 1925, and finally to the position she occupied at the time of her death. Miss Manning's life of devotion to her work is a monument truly worthy of her. Her sterling character and sympathetic nature won for her many admirers and friends who mourn her death.—DR. PAUL VAN DYKE, Professor of Modern European History at Princeton since 1898, died at Washington, Conn., on Aug. 30 in his 75th year. He served as Director of the American University Union in Paris in 1921-22 and again in 1928-29. His works include: *The Age of the Renaissance*, 1897; *Renaissance Portraits*, 1905; *Catherine de Médicis*, 2 vols.; *Ignatius Loyola*, 1926; *The Story of France*, 1928; etc. He was Docteur ès Lettres of Toulouse and Officer of the Legion of Honor.—MISS HÉLÈNE BIÉLER, Instructor in Romance Languages at Barnard College, died in New York on Sept. 12. She was born in Lausanne on Oct. 26, 1878, the daughter of Prof. Samuel Biéler, D.Sc. After having attended the Ecole Supérieure of Lausanne (1890-95) and the Ecole Secondaire of Geneva (1895-98), from which she received the Diplôme d'Ecole Secondaire, she taught in Germany, England, France and Italy from 1898 to 1910. In the latter year she was appointed Instructor of the French Language and Literature at McGill University, Canada, where she remained for nine years. In 1919 she was appointed Lecturer in French and Spanish at Barnard College, and was later advanced to the post she occupied at the time of her death. In 1922 Columbia University awarded her the M.A. degree. A gifted and devoted

teacher, Miss Biéler asked no more than to give her life to the cause, and her fine character impressed itself upon her students and friends who mourn her loss. Two sisters, Misses Nathalie and Elizabeth, both teachers, survive her.—**MME HENRIETTE TISNÉ**, Principal of the Tisé Institute for Girls in New York for 40 years, died in New York on Aug. 8. Born in Marseilles in March, 1855, she came to New York in 1893, and established a French school where she anticipated the Montessori method in the "ideovisual" plan, for which she received several decorations from the French Government. She is survived by two sons.—**STODDARD DEWEY**, Paris correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* since 1892, died in Paris on July 30. Born in New York on April 20, 1853, he was educated in France and Belgium. Besides his journalistic labors, he organized the preparatory work for 105 international congresses of learned societies held at the Paris Exposition in 1900. In 1901 he was decorated with the Legion of Honor and was promoted to Officer in 1932.—**ABBÉ HENRI BREMOND**, member of the French Academy since 1923, and one of the outstanding figures in modern literary criticism, died at Pau on Aug. 17 after a long illness. He was born on July 31, 1865, at Aix-en-Provence. In 1882, after he had completed his studies in their school at Aix, the Jesuits sent him to Wales, where he remained ten years and where, according to Lucien Descaves, "s'acheva sa formation religieuse." He was author of the *Histoire littéraire du Sentiment religieux en France*, 11 vols. (incomplete); thirty volumes of criticism, essays, biographies, history, etc.; *L'Inquiétude religieuse*, 2 vols.; *Ames religieuses*; *Apologie pour Fénelon*, where he defended the latter against Bossuet; *Pour le Romantisme*; etc. He was a friend and defender of Father Tyrrel, the English ex-Jesuit, and during his last years carried on a vigorous polemic in favor of "la poésie pure." For him the most beautiful verse in the French language was "La fille de Minos et de Pasiphaé," which he considered an authentic poem in itself. His life was exemplary for its simplicity and humbleness. A biography of him has been published by Maurice Martin du Gard.—**RAYMOND ROUSSEL**, dramatist and novelist, died in Paris in August. His chief works are *Locus Solus* and the posthumous *Impressions d'Afrique*, which, according to Jean Cocteau, "est peut-être le seul volume qu'on ne sache par quel bout prendre et qui vous saute dans la mémoire, d'un seul bloc."—**MARC ELDER**, author of *La Maison du Pas Périlleux*, died in Paris in August in his 49th year. His first novel, *Le Peuple de la Mer*, was awarded the Goncourt Prize in 1913. His writings,—novels, stories and essays—deal mainly with the sea and the country of Nantes.—**EMILE HENRIOT**, caricaturist of *L'Illustration* for more than 30 years, died at Nesles, Seine-et-Oise, on Aug. 11, at the age of 76. Jean-Louis Vaudoyer ranks him with Bertall, Grévin and Crafty.—**LEO FERRERO**, son of the historian Guglielmo Ferrero, was killed recently in an automobile accident in Mexico City. He was born in 1903 and was author of *Les Campagnes sans Madone*, a play; *Léonard*, with a preface by Paul Valéry; *Paris dernier modèle de l'Occident*; and various unpublished works.—**MAURICE RENAUD**, celebrated baritone, died in Paris on Oct. 17 at the age of 71. With the Manhattan Opera Co. from 1906 to 1910 he became a prime favorite with New Yorkers as the creator of a veritable gallery of opera portraits. His most famous rôle was that of Athanaël in Massenet's *Thaïs*. Although he was more than 50 years old at the outbreak of the World War, he enlisted as a private

and subsequently won numerous citations for bravery, especially at Fresnes where he repaired telephonic communications during a violent bombardment. His last operatic appearance was in Massenet's *Cléopâtre* in 1919.—DR. PIERRE VILLEY, distinguished Professor of French Literature at the University of Caen and one of the foremost blind scholars in the world, was killed in the wreck of the Paris-Cherbourg Express on Oct. 24. He was born at Caen in 1879 and lost his sight when 4 years of age. After having continued his studies with normal children with high honors, he passed into the Ecole Normale Supérieure where he was awarded the Doctorat ès Lettres. His first university position was the chair of French Literature at Clermont-Ferrand. He came to the United States in 1931 as a delegate to the World Conference on Work for the Blind and lectured on the Renaissance in various American universities. His works include: *Les Sources italiennes de la "Deffense et Illustration de la Langue françoise" de Joachim du Bellay*, 1908; *Les Livres d'Histoire moderne utilisés par Montaigne*, 1908; *Les Sources et l'Evolution des Essais de Montaigne*, 2 vols., 1908; *L'Influence de Montaigne sur Locke et Rousseau*, 1911; and *Les Sources d'Idées au XVIe Siècle*; while his *La Pédagogie des Aveugles* and *L'Aveugle dans le Monde des Voyants*, translated into English as the *World of the Blind*, are considered classics in the literature of blindness. He also served as Secretary-General of the Association Valentin Haüy and member of the Advisory Council of the Association Nationale des Jeunes Aveugles. Professor Villey's amazing memory, remarkably sound judgment and most engaging personality made for him admirers and friends of all who came into contact with him.—MRS. RENA MICHAELS ATCHISON, who was Dean of Women and Professor of French Literature at Northwestern University from 1883 to 1893, died at Chicago on Oct. 29 at the age of 77. She was graduated from Albion (Mich.) College, and first taught Romance Languages at Upper Iowa University, Fayette, Ia., and was later Professor of Spanish and French at Depauw University, Greencastle, Ind., from which she passed to Northwestern. After having withdrawn from academic work in 1893, she married Rev. W. F. Atchison, who survives.—JOHN C. RANSMEIER, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Chicago, died at Chicago on Oct. 31 at the age of 61. He came to Chicago in 1920 from Tulane University. He is survived by his widow and two sons.

MUSIC AND OPERA—A CONTEST of compositions of a symphony and a symphonic poem, for the glory of Mexico, has been inaugurated by the Ateneo Musical Mexicano. The contest is limited to Mexican composers and will close on Feb. 28 next.—THE INSTITUT D'ESTUDIS CATALANS, which already had to its credit the *Cançoners Popular de Catalunya*, issued recently the second volume of the organ works of Juan Cavanillas, foremost Spanish composer for this instrument in the 17th century. Some of the compositions included are *Tocatas*, *Pasacalles*, *Tinetos*, *Folías*, *Batallas*, *Jácaras*, *Gaitillas* and *Paseos*.—A VALUABLE COLLECTION of commemorative medals, struck for famous composers and opera singers of the 18th and 19th centuries, has been donated by V. Pappalardo to the Bellini Museum of Catania. Likewise Leopoldo Mugnone, the veteran conductor, has given to the museums of La Scala and the Royal Opera his personal music souvenirs and letters.—ANTONIO SMAREGLIA's three-act lyric drama, *Nozze Istriane*, book by Luigi Illica, originally produced at Trieste in 1895,

was revived in the Roman Arena of Pola on Aug. 17. The revival of this rustic canvas was in the form of a tribute to the gifted blind composer of *Oceana* (1902) and *Abisso* (1914), who, according to R. Hall in the *New York Times* of Sept. 14, "died in 1929, the victim of a life-long cabal."—ARMANDO LE ROSA-PARODI's *Hommage to Vivaldi*, a well-written piece in the style of the 18th-century concerto, was the most important novelty at the successful symphony concerts at the Triennial Industrial Art Exposition in Milan during the Summer.—MUSSOLINI decreed recently, much to the delight of young composers, that the continuance of State subsidies to provincial opera houses is made conditional upon the latter's production of post-War novelties, absolute or local.—THE "ENTE RADIORURALE", created recently by the Italian Minister of Communications, Count Ciano, plans a systematic musical education for rural schools.—THE CONGRESS of Italian musical societies held in Parma in August discussed artistic and economic problems as well as the lack of suitable concert halls, especially in the smaller centres.—THE NATIONAL RECREATIONAL MOVEMENT took charge, this Autumn, of the traditional Neapolitan song festival of Piedigrotta in order to elevate it to a level of dignity commensurate with other historical *feste*. Among the verses sung were those of the Neapolitan bard, Ernesto Murolo, with music by Tito Schipa, and the five canzonette of E. A. Mario on verses of Mantica Barzini.—OPEN-AIR OPERA suffered a marked decline in Italy during the Summer. The Thespis Lyric Chariot was reduced from three sections to one, and, although two new enterprises were staged at Leghorn and Ostiglia, eight cities, which mounted opera in the open last season, refrained this year. To offset this, three new "all'aperto" symphony concerts were inaugurated.—"GENTE NOSTRA", the Italian folklore theatre created by Dr. Pagani and the artist, Reni, which made its début at the Bari Fair (Sept. 6-21), is now touring Italy. Its repertoire consists of characteristic songs and dances, ranging from the Duecento to the present day.—THE TEATRO DEL LITTORIO was opened in October by the Fascists of Milan as a new "experimental" opera house for the purpose of enabling student singers, foreign as well as Italian, to make their débuts.—FRANCO ALFANO'S BEST WORK, *La Leggenda di Sakúntala*, based upon the famous Sanskrit drama, was broadcast this Autumn.—CARLO DELCROIX, the modernist, has resigned as Chairman of the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino, much to the regret of Il Duce, and Vittorio Gui, the conservative, resigned as Conductor of the Permanent Symphony Orchestra of Florence.—OPERAS recently finished by minor Italian composers comprise (with names of librettists added): *La Rosa di Pompei*, Moschini-Cilea; *Domencio Santorno*, Fara-Zanella; *Enrico III*, Forzano-Lunghi; *La Vagabonda*, Mucci-Michetti; and *Dibuk*, Simoni-Rocca.—THE ROYAL OPERA of Rome will present the following novelties this season: Mascagni's *Nerone*, which is subtitled: "Saggio di espressione musicale della parola"; Respighi's *La Fiamma*; Licinio Refice's *Cecilia*; and a ballet by Ezio Carabella.—BIZET'S *Suites de l'Arlésienne* (1872) and Delibes' *Sylvia* (1876), two works characteristic of their period, have recently been recorded for the phonograph.—THE JUNTA NACIONAL DE MÚSICA Y TEATROS LÍRICOS, created in 1931 to foster Spanish music, has inaugurated a contest on the following subjects: 1) A quartet for piano, violin, viola and 'cello, prize 4,000 pesetas and publication; 2) an essay

on harmony in modern Spanish music since Pedrell, prize 3,000 pesetas and publication.

LITERATURE, DRAMA AND FILMS—HENRI BARBUSSE came to America recently to carry on his campaign against 'capitalistic war'.—LÉON BÉRARD, André Siegfried, Georges Duhamel, Jérôme Tharaud and André Maurois are candidates for the "fauteuil" of Abbé Bremond, whose death is noted in NECROLOGY. In a recent sketch of the history of the French Academy, it is noted that the chair which has had the most occupants is that of Maurice Donnay (18), next is that of Abbé Bremond (17) and least is that of René Doumic (9). Ten chairs have had 13 occupants, those of Emile Mâle, Louis Madelin, Henri Bergson, Marcel Prévost, Marshal Lyautey, Henri Lavedan, Marshal Pétain, André Chevrillon, Abel Hermant, and G. Lenôtre. François Mauriac, elected June 1 last, is the 564th Immortal since the founding of the Academy.—PIERRE MOREAU's new work, *La Conversion de Chateaubriand*, proves that the sudden conversion of the author, taking place from April to August, 1799, was due mainly to the death of his mother, of which he was informed during that time, and the death of his sister, Mme de Farcy, on July 22, 1799. Another interesting fact brought out in the work is that "Chateaubriand se rattache à la tradition humaniste de XVI^e siècle, à Montaigne et à Raymond Sebond."—THE 130TH ANNIVERSARY of the birth of Léon Gozlan, author of *Aristide Froissard*, *Les Nuits du Père Lachaise*, *Emotions de Polydor Marasquin*, etc., was celebrated in France on Sept. 1. The most celebrated wit of his time, Gozlan was noted for his "portraits en raccourci," among which are the following: Musset, "Lord Byronet"; Murger, "Polyte Musset"; Mérimée, "Stendhal en gelée"; Balzac, "Hercule en pantoufles filant des feuilletons aux pieds de ses créanciers"; Renan, "le plus doux des hommes cruels"; and Vigny, "une admirable extinction de voix".—CHAMONIX dedicated recently a monument to Eugène Labiche (1815-80) as the 'discoverer' of the Alps for Frenchmen in his *Voyage de Monsieur Perrichon* (1860). In declining the invitation to be represented at the ceremony, the French Academy stated that this honor belonged to the elder Dumas, whose *Marie de Mont Blanc* (1830) and *Impressions de Voyage en Suisse* (1831) fired his compatriots "to discover the wonders of the Alps for themselves". Rousseau, it seems, has been overlooked, probably because he was Swiss.—DURING the filming of *Colomba* in the Corsican village of Fozzano, Genica Athanasiou, who plays the leading rôle, made the acquaintance of Colomba's granddaughter, who lives in the same house and is now a grandmother.—LEÓ LARGUIER, following Georges Dubosc's *Trois Normands* and Mme Georgette Leblanc's *Au Pays de Madame Bovary*, published during the Summer a journalistic account of the country of Madame Bovary. In regard to the characters of the novel, Robert Delamare recalled that Félicité (in real life, Mme Vve. Ménage, née Augustine Acloque) died on May 17, 1913, in her 90th year. She served in her youth Mme Delphine Delamare, another of Flaubert's characters, who ended her life by taking poison. Emma Bovary died in March, 1848, and Charles Bovary, a few years later, whereas Jouenne (the pharmacist, Homais) died at Vendrimeuse, Eure, in 1849, and the driver of the stage, "L'Hirondelle", Hivert ("le père Thérain") "succombait au commencement de ce siècle".—THAT LOUIS XVII was the son of the Swedish diplomat, Count Fersen, supposed lover of Marie-Antionette, is the subject of

three studies published recently in France, viz., Bernard Devismes, *Le Secret de Louis XVIII*; Roger Sorg, "Le Vrai Visage d'Axel Fersen," in the *Revue de France* (April 1 and 15), and Joseph Durieux, *Près de la Reine Marie-Antoinette*.—PAUL MORAND's READERS, who selected *amour, jeunesse, bonheur, idéal, charité, souvenir, étoile, rêve, cristal* and *caresse* as the 10 most beautiful words in the French language, have been reproved by Clément Vautel, who regrets not finding *patrie, bonheur, gloire, foi, victoire, sacrifice* therein. "Le referendum," he adds, "nous a valu un précieux document, non pas sur des mots qui ne sont rien par eux-mêmes, mais sur un état d'esprit très répandu et qui, lui, a une certaine importance."—HENRI DUVERNOIS was awarded the 1933 "Grand Prix de Littérature" of the Académie Française for the following works: *Faubourg Montmartre; Crapotte; Les Sœurs Hortensias; La Poule; and A Pombre d'une femme*. Roger Chauviré won the "Prix du Roman" with his *Mlle de Boisdaphin*. Other prizes awarded were "Broquette-Gonin" to Edmond Pilon for his *Amours mortes, belles amours* and *Vieux Portraits jeunes visages*; "Populiste", to H. Pollès' *Sophie de Tréguier*; "Northcliffe", to R. Vercel's *Au large de l'Eden*; "Roman d'Aventures", to Simone d'Erigny's *L'Etrange Volonté du Professeur Lorrain*.—GEORGES SUAREZ's *Les Hommes malades de la Paix* has made a profound impression in France.—THE BODY of Blasco Ibáñez, whose will, after his death in 1928, forbade his burial in Spain while the monarchy existed, was removed from Mentone, France, to Valencia on Oct. 29. Three cruisers and a number of airplanes escorted it, and it was received at the Valencia City Hall by government officials who conducted the final ceremonies amidst representatives of many nations and 1,000,000 spectators.—THE 400TH ANNIVERSARY of the birth of William the Silent was commemorated at Orange during the Summer. René Berton's tragedy, *Guillaume le Taciturne, Prince d'Orange*, was played in the Roman theatre by Albert Lambert, who celebrated at the same time his 50th year on the stage.—PLAYS produced in Paris during the past quarter include *Peysches et Cie. de Bordeaux*, a well-written drama, in which its Bordelais author assumed the leading rôle; Tristan Bernard's *Bloch de Chicago*, a very free adaptation of *Abie's Irish Rose*; and two plays showing the influence of Stève Passeur, but in which the Franco-Irish author's sincere frankness becomes hollow cynicism, viz., Jacques Deval's *Prière pour les Vivants*, which traces the whole life of a character possessed of all human vices, and Alfred Savoir's "pièce à thèse", *Maria*, in which the self-abnegation of a woman in love is not appreciated either by her rival or by her lover.—A NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF STAGE TECHNIQUE, including stage directors, scene painters, etc. has been formed in Rome, with the purpose of carrying out "a definite cultural and spiritual program in this field".—THE FILM THEATRES OF PARIS, according to recent statistics, are capable of seating 294,027 spectators at one time.—H. L. MATTHEWS remarks, in the *New York Times*, that there was not a single Frenchman among the 13 directors producing films in Paris during August. They were all Germans and Russians. Hence, the *Ciné-Magazine* ejaculates: "Hospitality, Yes! Invasion, No!" In fact, from July 15 until nearly Aug. 15 not a single new French film was put on the market. The single late Summer success was *Les Ailes brisées*, based upon Pierre Wolff's drama.—DE MAUPASSANT's *L'Ordonnance*, which was the October film success of Paris, reveals, notwithstanding its tediousness at times, that his

works "can be transferred to the screen with fidelity and beauty", according to H. L. Matthews in the *New York Times* of Oct. 22.—FOREIGN PLAYS AND FILMS, produced in New York during the past quarter, include the following, with dates of presentation: Aug. 4, the Paramount's *Melodía de arrabal*, a musical film in Spanish, featuring Carlos Gardel, the Argentine tango singer, which was well acted and well reproduced; Aug. 18, the Spanish musical romance, *Su último amor*, a Fox production, to which the voice of José Mojica, the Mexican singer, "manages to lend a certain amount of interest"; Aug. 22, the film, *Voltaire*, based on an unproduced play by George Gibbs and E. L. Dudley, a portrait admirably acted by George Arliss; Aug. 24, the French film, *La Femme nue*, a highly sentimental picture adapted from the play by Henri Bataille; Aug. 25, the Spanish musical romance, *La canción del día*, a fairly entertaining film, featuring Consuelo Valencia; Sept. 3, the Spanish film, *La viuda romántica*, a Fox production of a romantic comedy, featuring the sterling actress, Catalina Bárcena; Sept. 6, the French silent film, *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, originally produced in New York three years ago; Sept. 7, the French dialogue film, *Milady*, based on Dumas' novel, which, though lacking in interest, "possesses considerable charm" and is excellently acted; Sept. 10, the Paramount's *El príncipe gondolero*, a romantic musical comedy in Spanish, which is well acted and sung by Roberto Rey, and which, from the standpoint of technique, "is perhaps the best Spanish-language film to be shown thus far on a New York screen"; Sept. 18, the Paramount's *Gente alegre*, a musical comedy in Spanish, featuring Roberto Rey and Rosita Moreno, which, though somewhat tedious at times, is well mounted and directed; Sept. 24, *Thunder Over Mexico*, abridged from the film, *Que Viva México*, directed by S. M. Eisenstein, which was received with both praise and protests; Oct. 3, the Fox film, *La melodía prohibida*, a rather insipid scenario of the South Seas, featuring José Mojica; Oct. 6, *Night Flight*, a "vivid and engrossing" film, based on Saint-Exupéry's novel and played by an excellent cast; Oct. 16, *The School for Husbands*, adapted in rhyme by Arthur Guiterman from Molière's *L'Ecole des Maris*, with 17th century music arranged by E. W. Rickett, praised as "an excellent theatrical jest"; the Fox film, *Quando el amor ríe*, a musical romance of early California, featuring Mojica; Oct. 19, René Clair's *Quatorze Juillet*, which, though not "up to the standard set by his other productions", contains "true poetry" and is most efficiently acted; Oct. 22, the Paramount's highly sentimental melodrama in Spanish, *Toda una vida*, well played by Carmen Larrabeiti; Oct. 24, the comedy, *Spring in Autumn*, adapted by Nena Belmonte from G. Martínez Sierra's *Primavera en otoño* (1911), characterized as "weak, but harmless"; Oct. 25, the comedy, *Three and One*, adapted by L. Galantiere and J. Houseman from Denys Amiel's *Trois et Une* (cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIV, 1933, p. 93), criticized as "rowdy and dullish in spots, without much plot and yet amiable"; Oct. 27, the film, *Figaro e la sua gran giornata*, a highly entertaining musical comedy in Italian, well played by G. Giachetti and Leda Gloria; Oct. 29, Paramount's *Cascarrabias*, a Spanish film version of *Gumpy*, translated and adapted by J. C. Ribalta, which was played by Ernesto Vilches.

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY—RICHARD OFFNER issued during the Summer the first four volumes of the colossal *Corpus of Florentine Painting*, undertaken by the College of Fine Arts of New York University. The work, which will

eventually consist of 30 volumes, will cover the history of the Florentine School "from its origins, down to the late 15th century." The present volumes belong to the third Section and deal with "one vital phase of Florentine painting in the first half of the 14th century," *i. e.* the "miniaturist tendency."—THE T. F. RYAN ART COLLECTION, appraised at more than \$1,300,000, will be sold in New York on Nov. 23-25. Included therein are Limoges enamels, among which are Monvaerni's "Crucifixion", from the J. P. Morgan Collection, Léonard Limousin's "Portrait of the Connétable de Bourbon", and Nardon Penicaud's "Entry into Jerusalem" and "Triptych". Among the sculptures are Michel Colombe's "Pietà", Amadeo's "Angels", Rossellino's "Madonna and Child", and Francesco Laurana's bust of "Beatrice of Aragon". The tapestries include Maître Philippe's "Pietà" and a Tours "Gombaud et Macée" of 1595.—TWELVE PAINTINGS executed by Claude Monet between 1878 and 1894 and purchased from the artist by the late J. F. Sutton, were sold in New York on Oct. 26 for \$45,700. Works from other collections sold at the same time included examples by Monticelli, Diaz, Ziem, L'Hermitte, Schreyer and Bouguereau.—THE MURALS, painted by the Spanish artist, Sert, for Rockefeller Center, are, in the opinion of critics, far inferior to his Don Quixote panels in the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria. Likewise, Rivera's "class struggle" series in the New Workers School, New York, have been compared to "lurid propaganda posters."—CARNEGIE INSTITUTE'S 31st International Exhibition opened at Pittsburgh on Oct. 19. Of the 351 paintings assembled, 125 are by American artists and 226 by foreigners. The numerical division of the European roster is as follows: France, 46, characterized as "feeble and superficial"; Great Britain, 46, said to be "not much more consequential"; Italy, 35, containing "some strong canvases"; Germany, 30; Spain, 30; Holland, 10; Belgium, 9; Sweden, 6; Norway, 4. The American Section makes the best impression of all. The general trend of the exhibition as a whole is toward more "conservative" painting, the "fauve" or "wild beast" type of modernism being rarely encountered.—G. BROCK, the American artist, was decorated recently with the insignia of the Legion of Honor. His painting depicting Marshal Joffre reviewing the Seventh Regiment, N. Y. National Guard, at Grant's Tomb during the War, and his portrait of Marshal Foch have been purchased by the French Government for a Paris museum.—THE FIFTH TRIENNIAL EXHIBITION OF ARCHITECTURE AND DECORATIVE ARTS, held in Milan during the Summer, was hailed by critics as far superior to its predecessors. The most marked development was seen in the "razionale" (called by Americans "international") style of architecture, of which the best specimens were to be found in Figini and Pollini's "House for an Artist" and Piero Portalupi's "Week-end House," with its "marvelous spiral staircase". Murals by Giorgio de Chirico ("Italian Culture"), Massimo Campigli, Achille Funi and Gian Filippo Usellini ("The Four Ages") were also praised.—A BOCCIONI MUSEUM, founded by the painter, Prampolini, in honor of the futurist artist who was killed in the War, was opened in Milan during the Summer. Besides the paintings of the above artist, the museum will also contain representative works of Italian futurism, cubism, surréalisme, constructivism, etc.—THE EXHIBITION of works by Jean Hugo, descendant of Victor Hugo, in Paris during August aroused much favorable criticism. Speaking of the relation between his art and that of modern poets, André Salmon

says: "Il est difficile d'aimer les dessins de Jean Hugo sans avoir du goût pour les poèmes de Jean Cocteau, et réciproquement."—FRANCE has also its art thieves. On Aug. 5, fifteen paintings were stolen from the collection of Eugène Geogroy at Cannes. They were two Fragonards, four Corots, two Manets, three Renoirs, and one painting each by Courbet, Dupré, Isabey and Courtois.—ALBERTO ESCALONA, the Mexican archaeologist, announced, on Sept. 19, the discovery of the ruins of an extensive Mayan city, probably more than 1,800 years old, near Pomuch, in the State of Campeche. The expedition also studied more than 40 buildings, including a temple of the sun, in the form of a cross, at Palenque.—AN AZTEC TEMPLE is now being excavated by archaeologists under Argentina Avenue, Mexico City.—ART EXHIBITIONS held in New York during the past quarter include the following (with dates of opening): *Sept. 16*, 19th Century American and French Paintings, the latter including works of Decamps, Corot, Théodore Rousseau, Troyon, Harpignies, Mauve, Daubigny, and Bouguereau (portrait painted in 1905); *Sept. 18*, some 300 paintings, sculptures and prints by modern French and American artists; *Sept. 30*, the Brooklyn Academy of Music's exhibition of notable examples of drawing, in which the Latin countries were represented by Goya, El Greco, Renoir, Daumier, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin, Picasso and Matisse; *Oct. 9*, 75 examples of graphic art, in which France was represented by Forain, Millet, Manet, Lepère, Gavarni, Degas and Corot; marine water-colors by Marin Marie; *Oct. 10*, the annual Kraushaar French show, including works by Boudin, Guys, Delacroix, Seurat, Derain, Matisse, Modigliani, Berthe Morisot, Pissarro, Puvion de Chavannes, Fantin-Latour, Redon, Rouault, Lautrec and Vlaminck; *Oct. 15*, water-colors, drawings and monotypes by French artists, including Daumier, Delacroix, Despiiau, Segonzac, Forain, Laboureur, Laprade, Marie Laurencin, Maillol, Manet, Matisse, Millet, Picasso, Rodin, Lautrec, Utrillo and Verge-Sarrat; lithos and etchings, in which France was represented by Renoir and Constant; *Oct. 18*, French Masters of Drawing, including Fragonard, Hubert Robert, Daumier, Guys, Gavarni, Boucher, Moreau, Watteau, etc.; *Oct. 25*, prints by 20 Argentine artists at the Roerich Museum; *Oct. 26*, water-colors and oils by Le Corbusier, the French architect; *Oct. 29*, 20 canvases by Georges Rouault, the "modern religious mystic"; *Oct. 31*, paintings of Louis E. Boudin (b. 1825).—GIORGIONE's "Aeneas and Anchises at Avernus" was discovered in Venice on Oct. 24 among the paintings of the ancient family of Donà dalle Rose. It will probably be purchased by the Italian Government.—THREE VALUABLE WORKS on French art from the 15th to the 17th centuries, recently published, are: Henri David, *De Sluter à Sambin* (2 vols.), a study of Bourguignon sculpture in the 15th and 16th centuries; Paul Fierens, *Les Le Nain*, dealing with the three painters; and Pierre Courthion, *Claude Lorrain*.

MISCELLANEOUS—GEN. LOUIS LE BEGUE DUPORTAIL's services as chief of engineers under George Washington were commemorated at Valley Forge, Pa., during the Summer. At the same time there were exhibited plans drawn by Duportail for the fortifications of Valley Forge, which were recently found in the rafters of a house there. "It seems astonishing that a man who contributed so much to the achievement of our independence should be so little known," writes a correspondent of the *New York Times*, and he calls attention to the fact that Washington sent to Congress 29 messages from or

about Duportail and two sketch-maps by him of the Philadelphia defenses; that in 125 letters of Washington to other officers Duportail is spoken of; and that there are extant 47 letters of Duportail to Washington and 47 letters, orders or instructions from Washington to Duportail. It is interesting to note that Duportail went back to France after the Revolution, and was sent on a mission to Italy. Through the influence of Lafayette he was recalled to Paris in 1788 as Minister of War under Louis XVI. Obligated to resign his position in 1791 because of liberal ideas, he returned to America in 1792, where he remained until 1802, when, taking advantage of Napoleon's decree of amnesty, he started back to France but died en route.—THE FORTRESS OF LOUISBURG, on the coast of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, is now being reconstructed by Canadian Government engineers, through the aid of data supplied by Americans who are engaged in Colonial restoration work in Virginia. The fortress was built by the French after the peace of Utrecht (1713); was besieged and taken by a New England force under Pepperell, June 17, 1745; was restored in 1748; and was again besieged and destroyed by the British under Amherst, July 27, 1758.—EARLY 16TH CENTURY FREScoes in the circular room of La Fortaleza, historic residence of the Governors of Puerto Rico, have now been restored. Accumulated dampness in the walls, which are 80 or more inches thick, made the restoration difficult. It is believed that this room of the fortress was originally used as a private chapel. The U. S. Government now plans to restore the Puerta Caelis, the oldest church under the American flag, as a historical and religious monument. It stands on the plaza at San German and was built in 1532.—IL PALAZZO D'ITALIA, the new addition to the Rockefeller Centre, N. Y., is being erected on the northwest corner of Fifth Ave. and 50th St. This unit will be 9 stories in height, the same as the German building being erected on the adjoining corner of the same block at 51st St. In the block extending from 49th to 50th St. are the twin six-story buildings, known as La Maison Française and the British Empire Building, which are nearly completed.—RUMANIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY was celebrated in New York during the Summer by a dinner given at the George Washington Hotel. "Judge H. Stanley Renaud presided," according to the *Roumanian Bulletin* (Vol. II, No. 2, p. 2), "and the speakers were Prof. John L. Gerig of Columbia University; Prof. Charles Hodges of N. Y. University; Chester D. Pugsley, the Poughkeepsie banker and philanthropist; Florence Cassity, Chairman, Immigration Policy Conference; Milian Ovesea, Secretary of the Avram Iancu Society; and Basil Alexander, President of the Sons of Roumania Association. Judge Renaud read a telegram of congratulation from President Roosevelt."—A TABLET in honor of Marquis Michel de Chartier de Lotbinière, who designed Fort Carillon in 1756 and who also aided Franklin in obtaining French help for the Revolutionary Colonists, was unveiled by the New York State Historical Association at Ticonderoga, N. Y., on Sept. 16.—A REPLICA of Fort Massachusetts, erected in 1745 and attacked and burned on Aug. 19-20, 1746, by 800 French and Indians, under Gen. Vaudreuil, brother of the Governor of Canada, was dedicated near Williamstown, Mass., on Aug. 19. The fort is 120 by 80 feet in size and is 11 feet high. A narrative of the battle, published in 1748 by Rev. John Norton, was republished in 1870 under the title, *The Redeemed Captive*.—THE 221ST FIESTA, commemorating the retaking of the Villa de Santa Fé from the Pueblos

in 1693 by Gen. Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján, was held at Santa Fé, N. M., on Sept. 2-5. This sole authentic surviving Spanish fiesta in the United States was inaugurated in 1712 by the Marqués de Peñuela, Governor and Captain General.—A FRENCH TABLOID WEEKLY, *Amérique*, edited by Mme Josette Lacoste, made its first appearance in New York on Sept. 18. An announcement declared that "it will reflect no political opinion and will be independent of any official connection."—SERBAN DRUTZU and Andrei Popovici issued recently an interesting work entitled *Romanii in America*. Among the Rumanians mentioned therein who served with distinction in the Civil War were Capt. Nicolae Dunca, who fell in the battle of Cross Keys, and Col. George Pomutz.—A GROUP of 125 Brazilian industrial and intellectual leaders visited the Century of Progress Exposition at Chicago on Sept. 1.—DR. M. BARZUN of New York gave during the Summer at Lyons, Vienne and Grenoble a series of 10 lectures on the United States in the 20th century under the title, "Le Plan Américain." They will be published in the *Cahiers Américains*, issued by the France-America Society.—THE ROCKEFELLER RESTORATION of Marie Antoinette's barge at Versailles was severely criticized by the *Echo de Paris* on Aug. 26. However, Paul Léon, former Minister of Fine Arts, stated, at the annual meeting of the Institut on Oct. 25, that the reconstruction followed closely the original plans.—NORMANDY'S CELEBRATION of its 1,000th anniversary was opened at Coutances on July 1. The Viking flag, bearing three gold leopards, which flew from the masts of the Norse dragon-ships of war when they first began their raids up the French rivers in 911, formed the chief decoration of the city's Norman cathedral. Likewise, a reproduction of the Queen's ship with dragon-headed prow, unearthed recently on the Oslo fjord, was borne in the historical pageant. Prof. Prentout, of the Univ. of Caen, organized a historical congress at which papers were read, dealing with the history of the Normans in the 10th and 11th centuries. These fêtes, in which representatives of Norway took part, were continued in other cities throughout the Summer.—A CURIOUS COLLECTION, entitled *Les Savoirs du temps présent*, directed by Baroness d'Orchamps and Mlle Marie-Louise Lédé, began to appear in October. Among the first seven volumes are the following: Tristan Bernard, *Savoir faire*; Abel Hermant, *Savoir parler*; François Mauriac, *Savoir souffrir*; R. P. Sanson, *Savoir mourir*; and Jean Giraudoux, *Savoir être seul*.—HELEN WADDELL remarks, in a review of Enid Starkie's *Baudelaire*, in the London *Observer*, that one of the first supporters of the poet was George Saintsbury, who in 1875 wrote a superb defense of him as a literary artist.—CALCIO, a 15th-century football game, was revived in all its pomp at the Maggio Musicale at Florence.—LOUVAIN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY's third balustrade, like all of its predecessors ordered by Rector Ladeuze, was destroyed on June 4 last by the same man who smashed the second balustrade on July 16, 1928, scarcely a month after the first was shattered by a Louvain crowd. The Library was built by the American architect, Whitney Warren, with funds subscribed in the United States, and his insistence on the "German fury" inscription resulted in a series of court actions, which were won by the Rector.—POLYDOR has registered on a phonographic disk the voice of Cécile Sorel in her "grande scène de larmes et de marche sur les genoux du 4e acte de *Sapbo*."—A FRENCH EXPEDITION, according to the *Answers Magazine*, is now trying to locate the lost land of Atlantis in the

Hoggar mountains of the Sahara.—AMBASSADOR LABOULAYE was awarded the LL.D. degree by Lafayette College on Oct. 26.—MARSHAL VAUBAN'S TERCENTENARY was celebrated by the French Institute on Oct. 25. Gen. Weygand, of the French Academy, recalled how Vauban's system for flooding French territory was used to check the Germans in 1914.—THE CENTENARY of Michelet's *Histoire de France* (2 vols., 1833) was commemorated recently by Albert Thibaudet in a splendid article.—THE FOURTH VOLUME of H. Talvart and J. Place, *Bibliographie des Auteurs modernes de langue française* (1801-1927) was issued recently. It goes from Eugène Dabit to Edouard Dujardin.—A MEDITERRANEAN UNIVERSITY CENTRE, having as its object the expounding of Latin culture, was organized at Nice on Oct. 17 by a Committee presided over by Paul Valéry. Educators from France, Italy, Spain, Rumania and Latin America have been invited to lecture there.—THE FAMOUS BUCHAREST DAILY, *Universul*, celebrated last Summer its 50th anniversary. It was founded by an Italian idealist, Luigi Cazzavilan, and is now edited by Stelian Popescu.—A PRECEDENT for the recent national lottery has been sought by French writers, and it has been discovered that "François I avait créé la première loterie pour empêcher l'or français de prendre le chemin de la Suisse, de la Hollande ou de l'Italie."—AN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS of persons bearing the name of William is to be held in St. Brieuc in October, 1934, in order to observe the 700th anniversary of St. Guillaume Pichon, who was canonized by Pope Innocent IV on April 15, 1247.—BOURGOGNE celebrated during the Summer its "première fête du vin." On that occasion was revived the epitaph composed for the "buveur national", Raoul Ponchon, member of the Goncourt Academy:

"Un buveur que rien n'égalait
Gît, fort marri, sous cette pierre.
C'est la première fois qu'il a
Remplacé le vin par la bière."

J. L. G.

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